NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

LYDIA MARIA CHILD, Editor. | Without Concealment----Without Compromise. | DAVID LEE CHILD, Assistant Editor.

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OLIVER JOHNSON, PRINTER.

Pro-Slavery.

From the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer.

STAND TO YOUR ARMS.

The following letter shows the design of those Whigs, who are anxious to slur over the Abolition question at this time, in order that they may carry out their favorite political measures (Bank, Distribution, &c. &c.) at the Extra Session. The next winter, they will rush down, like wolves from the mountains, upon the South. But Wise, Rayner, and some others, will not play out the game.

Who says that Abolitionism is dead? that it is mere party cant cant to bring it forward? Wise does not say it—and Ingersoll shows us, that the spirit of fanaticism is more daring and desperate than ever. We have another fact before us which speaks trumpet-tongued to the South. The New-York Era tells us that, "Joseph Sturge, an Abolition agent to this country, and who, we believe, either is or was a member of the British Parliament, has published a letter, of which he is the bearer, to the President of the United States, on the subject of the enormous iniquities of our slave system. In other words, a memorial to our Chief Magistrate to rescind the Constitution of the United States; for if the letter is not utterly senseless, that is the only sense in which it can be interpreted. It was written originally, we are gravely informed, to General Harrison, but will be presented to Mr. Tyler. We presume Mr. Tyler will treat this mission and its bearer with the contempt they merit. The letter itself purports to have been written by the 'venerable Thomas Clarkson,' but by whomsoever written, or by whomsoever borne, it is a piece of impertinent impudence that ought to consign every body connected with it to *the care of the door-keeper*—whenever they enter the Presidential mansion. It is a gross and direct insult to the country, and should be so treated. It is a pretty time of day, sure enough, if these English gentry suppose they can be permitted to interfere in this way with the internal concerns of the country and make the very Executive Hall the theatre of its fathomless insolence. We recollect a good deal of the history of this Sturge. At some assemblage of Abolitionists in England, not long since, or in a letter to somebody of the sort, he indulged himself in abuse and invective upon the people of the United States, only equalled by the burley blackguard of O'Connell. A very proper person this, to carry letters to our President, and deliver them in person at Washington while Congress is in session."

The New-York Herald informs us, that this man Sturge has arrived "with designs almost as wild and incendiary as the notorious Thompson, and with a determination to do all in his power to break up the 'domestic institutions' of the Southern States. For this purpose he has been backed up by all the wealth and power of the Abolitionists in England, who seem determined to interfere in, and destroy, if possible, our social institutions, and set this country in a flame. To effect this, we have reason to believe, this man Sturge has brought large sums of money; and if there was any doubt of his real intentions, the letter addressed by his brother to the 'London Standard' impudently discloses them:

To the Editor of the Standard.

'BIRMINGHAM, May 19.

'Sir—After the manner in which my brother, Joseph Sturge, is mentioned in the Standard of yesterday, I think it but due to him that you should inform your numerous readers that he is now in the United States, doing all in his power to assist the Abolitionists there, and that, if in England, I am sure he would oppose, to the utmost of his ability, this abominable Whig attempt to introduce slave-grown sugar.

'I am, very respectfully, &c.

'CHARLES STURGE.'

"Soon after the arrival of this man here, the Abolitionists had a great meeting, and formed a *new plan of organization*, when they issued the following circular:

'The Abolitionists of the city of New-York, are estimated at between three and four thousand. And whereas the majority between the two great political parties was shown by the last election to be less than five hundred, it seems beyond all reasonable doubt, if one thousand will come out and stand aloof from their respective parties, and vote for none but true men, they can thus hold the balance of power and thus compel (at least) the weaker of the two, to put in nomination true Abolitionists.

In view of such results, we have sketched out a plan (subject to be revised,) and hereunto annexed. And should you deem the object worthy your support, we earnestly request you and your friends, to enroll your names and place of residence thereto, and forthwith return the same to

Yours respectfully,

G. Wheeler, R. Sedgwick, Thomas Day, jr., Norman Francis, James E. H. Wallin, Thos. Ritter, Jas. J. Sawyer, Jas. H. French, Asa Parker, N. Southard, W. S. Dorr, C. B. Hatch, George R. Barker, Leonard Gibbs, Wm. Tracy, Alexander Macdonald, Horace Dresser, Asher Atkins, Anthony Lane, R. G. Williams, Geo. M. Tracy, Joel M. Hubbard, Augustus I. Gillett.

NEW-YORK, June 1st, 1841.'

(Here follows their plan)—and yet it is at this moment, whilst Sturge perhaps is at Washington, agging on the Abololition members, that the 21st rule was to be stricken out and the door thrown wide open to the fanatics!

EXTRACT *of a letter from* "*Washington, 14th of June*, 1841.

"Dear Sir: There is one aspect of the present session as connected with the Abolition question, which has not sufficiently attracted the attention of the South. Mr. Slade, and his associates, tell us, with an affectation of magnanimity, that *they will not stir the subject at this session, lest its proper business be retarded.* What does this mean? They feel that the consent of the Southern Whigs is necessary to carry their schemes. They are wise in their generation. They know too well the importance to them, to their section, interests, and party, of those Federal measures, Bank, Tariff, and Distribution, to endanger them by collision with any other subject, however important. They say, "our present object is to centralize capital and business in the North, by the establishment of a great National Bank—to feed it with distribution and a consequent debt—and to re-adopt the protective policy at the expense of the planting States. These measures we cannot effect without the concurrence of Southern gentlemen; and, if we press abolition now, we alarm and alienate them. Let us, therefore, postpone the abolition a itation to the next session, when we shall have ample time and opportunity." Read Mr. Slade's speech. This is its substance and purport: 'When the proper time should arrive,' he observes, 'he should have much to say on the question of slavery, &c. But he came here at the present session for a different purpose. The great question of slavery would have to be met in some form, sooner or later, &c. But he would not now go into the subject. He would only repeat the expression of his anxious desire, that the present session should not be consumed with the agitation of this question.'

"Mr. Slade understands his *cue*. He knows that without the aid of Southern men, his friends cannot carry their measures. Afterwards, he will have full access. But are Southern men so dull, as to be thus entrapped? Are they disposed to concede any thing in advance? Now, there is a motive to conciliate them. Hereafter, they will have nothing to deny. To them, Abolition is the vital, paramount question. To them, it is one of property, peace, honor,—nay, life itself. Already Messrs. Wise, Gilmer, Alford and others seem to be aware of the game which is playing, and determined to forget even party, when so much is at stake. They are not willing to deliver themselves, bound hand and foot, to the enemy. They say to their Northern allies, "Gentlemen, we did not act with you for THIS. If, after this victory, you are determined to sacrifice us, sooner or later, we must know your intentions and our fate, at once.—Whatever may be our opinions upon other questions, Abolition is to us of primary importance, and upon that the South is united, is firm, and will not yield an inch of ground, and the sooner it is decided the better.'

"Mr. Ingersoll deserves the thanks of the South, not only for his able, original and patriotic speech, but for the opportunity which his motion has presented for the unmasking the plans of the enemies of Southern institutions; and the country is indebted to the uncalculating, Abolition zeal of Mr. Adams, for marring so fine a plot. The whole world is agitating the slavery question; England, France, Denmark, the Northern States of our Union. Danger is pressing us on every side. Abolition emissaries come from abroad, to add to the excitement at home. Abolition societies are increasing rapidly.—Religion is brought to bear upon the subject. New-York and Maine have nullified the provision of the Constitution for the protection of Southern property. All the elements of action, physical, moral and political, are combined against Southern institutions, and yet the South is preparing to make the last surrender of its rights and interests, before the ultimate fatal blow is struck at its existence. Let Southern men beware—they are on the brink of a precipice."

From the same.

LAND AND NEGROES FOR SALE.

PURSUANT to a Deed of Trust, executed by John D. Hargrove to the subscribers, and duly recorded in the Clerk's Office of Caroline County Court, they will proceed to sell, to the highest bidder, at public auction, on the premises, a valuable Tract of Land, situated in the county of Caroline, in the neighborhood of the White Chimneys, containing, by estimation, two hundred and twenty eight acres, be the same more or less. The Land is located in a very desirable and agreeable neighborhood. The sale will take place on Friday, the 18th of June next. At the same time and place, will be sold seven likely Negroes, consisting of *young women and boys, together with the household and kitchen Furniture, stock of Horses, Cattle and Plantation Utensils* of the said John D. Hargrove.

The *terms* of sale will be made known on the day of sale.

SAML. D. PEATROSS, } *Trustees.*
SAML. C. SCOTT, }

May 14. 2—td

THE GAG.

In the discussion of this subject, perhaps no one evinced more zeal than young Marshall, from Kentucky; a new member, nephew of the late Chief Justice, with high reputation in his own State as a public speaker. He wanted to "meet the question of abolition petitions full in the face, and settle it at once and forever."

He did not know whether the gentleman from Massachusetts intended to press this question, or not, at this session. But whether he did or not, there was one Southern member—aye, more than one—that stood prepared now and at all times to meet it. Would to God it could be postponed.—Would to God that the phrenzy of that philanthropy which seemed to blaze in the aged brain of the gentleman from Massachusetts; that that expansive benevolence, which comprehended within its grasp all human beings; and which corresponded with the free negroes of Ohio, and published their letters in the papers of the North—would to God that that most large and prejudiced vision which put him on a level with the African negroes, and made them his fellow-citizens—would that all these things could have been postponed at least until the regular session. He did not intend to assail the principles of the gentleman—not he. If the gentleman chose to be the peer of liberated slaves, it was his (Mr. A's) affair. But he (Mr. M.) had referred to these matters merely for the purpose of explaining his own ideas.

In the course of the same discussion, Ingersoll of Pennsylvania, who moved for the re-consideration, and thus opened the sluices of Southern eloquence, made the following, among many other similar remarks. He has outbid Edward Everett entirely. He offered, in general terms, to shoulder his musket to sustain slavery; but Ingersoll covets even the meanest post in such a glorious enterprise. No wonder his masters laughed.

He deprecated the habit, which, he said, we had lately acquired, of talking in the most light and trifling manner about an insurrection of the slaves of the South, as if it was not an event involving the most horrid and dreadful consequences. We spoke of an event of this character with the greatest composure—as one not to be dreaded, and adverted to without horror. He must say that he had listened to the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, on this point, not without feelings of the utmost horror, and with his blood running cold. What, he asked, was a servile war? Nobody knew better than the gentleman from Massachusetts, who would recollect the fatal and disastrous consequences of the ten servile wars that were waged in the Roman Empire. Notwithstanding all that had fallen from the gentleman in reference to the event of a servile war in the Southern portion of this Union, and whatever might be his constitutional ideas and scruples in relation to it, he (Mr. Ingersoll) would venture to say that he would lay them all aside when the time came, and be ready to march with a Northern army to the aid and assistance of his Southern brethren. And suffer him (Mr. Ingersoll) to say, that he would be glad to tender his services upon such an expedition, even as a corporal or a private. (Laughter.) [Here Mr. I. read an extract from Sallust in reference to the servile wars of Rome.] This was but a feeble description of the servile wars, where the slaves were of the same color as their masters. After alluding to the fact that many foreign books were circulated in this country with a view to get up an abolition feeling among the emigrants here, he deprecated, in the strongest manner, the adoption of any course of action that was in the slightest degree calculated to fan into a flame these combustible materials, and thus plunge the Union into trouble, and, perhaps, bloodshed. He called upon the gentleman from Vermont, whom he believed to be sincere on the subject, for his plan, for he, (Mr. I.) wished to know what was to be done. He was tired of hearing these remarks, that "it was a shame"—that "all this was *sic semper tyrannis.*" But what good did it do? Did it not do a vast deal of mischief? Did it not do a great deal of harm? He would call upon all the members from Vermont to let us know what they want. He had been amused the other day, when the gentleman from Georgia said that he had been told of the shocking circumstance, that in a certain county all the postmasters were abolitionists, and at which annunciation all the members sprang upon their feet. Now, he (Mr. Ingersoll) would say, that if he entertained the same opinions as the gentleman from Vermont, then he would say that there ought to be none but abolition postmasters in Pennsylvania. Was it any attack on their morality and their patriotism, because sincere in their notions respecting abolitionism? Not at all. It appeared to him that this was not merely an attack; it was a conspiracy—it was a conspiracy. That's what it was. He did not use words without understanding their meaning.—There were good as well as bad conspirators. It was a conspiracy with a view to destroy the institutions of the South. It was an immense conspiracy, consisting of men not only in this, but other countries.

He would now proceed to state some things which he knew would shock many of those who heard them, and which he did not state without assuming the responsibility of them. He was prepared for responsibility, and for that vituperation which he might expect to have poured upon his devoted head, by a free and independent press. After remarking that the gentleman from Massachusetts had said, with scorn, that it had been represented that slavery was the corner-store stone of liberty, he proceeded to remind that gentleman that there had been ten Presidents of the United States, five of whom were slaveholders, and three of them were re-elected.

Selections.

INCENDIARY DOCTRINES.

To the Editor of the Standard:

For the benefit of those Connecticut gentlemen, who have suffered so much alarm on account of the dangerous fanaticism of modern abolitionists, I wish you to publish the following extract, from an address delivered before the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Freedom, about fifty years ago, by THEODORE DWIGHT, now residing in Hartford. A printed copy is in possession of Dr. Chapin, of Weathersfield:

"Can it be urged as a reason for its continuance, [slavery] that the slaves, not being numerous enough to become troublesome, are unworthy the public attention? A regard to the happiness of beings, occupying but a point in his dominions, destitute even of the the claim of justice, and dependent on his will for existence, induced the Son of the living God to exchange the bosom of his Father, for a cruel and ignominious death. And shall we refuse so slightly to imitate His illustrious example? The slaves are sufficiently numerous, and sufficiently important, to be highly injured, by being stripped of the only blessing, which can render life worth enjoying.—For where is the being, who would not rather yield up his life a sacrifice, than part with his freedom? The wretch, if such an one one can be found, is unworthy of the name of man.

WHO THEN CAN CHARGE THE NEGROES WITH INJUSTICE, OR CRUELTY, WHEN "THEY RISE IN ALL THE VIGOR OF INSULTED NATURE," AND AVENGE THEIR WRONGS? *What American will not admire their exertions to accomplish their own deliverance?* Every friend to justice and freedom, while his heart bleeds at the recital of the devastation and slaughter, which necessarily attend such convulsions of liberty, must thank his God for the emancipation of every individual from the miseries of slavery. This is the language of freedom; but it is also the language of truth—*a language which ever grates on the ear of tyrants, whether placed at the head of a plantation, or the head of an empire.* Every description of them, sooner than be deprived of domination,

"Would rather see
This earth a desert, desolate and wild,
And like a lion stalk his lonely round,
Famished, and roaring for his prey."

But this spirit, has neither charms to allure, nor terrors to awe the inhabitants of America. Having resisted it in the full vigor of manhood, they will disdain to yield to it in the imbecility of infancy. And indeed, submission would not only be deeply degrading, but extremely dangerous;—dangerous, not to *liberty* alone, but to *security and peace.* These tender plants can never flourish on the bleak and barren soil of slavery. For the same principles, which lead nations to the attainment of freedom, urge individuals to pursue the same object; and the struggles of the latter, are as often marked with desperation, as the efforts of the former. Indeed, from individuals, the spirit is generally communicated to states, and from states to nations. *And since the mighty, and majestic course of Freedom has begun, nothing but the arm of Omnipotence can prevent it from reaching the miserable Africans.* But let the domestic tyrants of the earth tremble at the approaches of such a destructive enemy. For should they attempt to oppose it, either by stratagem or force—

"Devouring War shall wake the bloody band
At Freedom's call, and scourge this guilty land;
And while his thundering chariot rolls along,
And scatters discord o'er the fated throng;
Death in the van, with Anger, Hate and Fear,
And Desolation stalking in the rear,
Revenge, by Justice guided, with his train,
Shall drive impetuous o'er the trembling plain."

From the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have requested Mr. Sturge to present to the President of the United States an address, of which the following is a copy.

SIR,—As the head of a great confederacy of States, justly valuing their free constitution and political organization, and tenacious of their rights and their character, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society through their esteemed coadjutor and representative, Joseph Sturge, would respectfully approach you in behalf of millions of their fellow-men, held in bondage in the United States. Those millions are not only denied the political immunities enjoyed by the citizens of your great republic generally, and the equal privileges and the impartial protection of the civil law, but are deprived of their personal rights; so that they cease to be regarded and treated, under your otherwise noble institutions, as MEN, except in the commission of crime, when the utmost rigor of your penal statutes is invoked and enforced against them; and are reduced to the degraded condition of 'chattels personal' in 'the hands of their owners and possessors, to *all intents, constuctions, and purposes whatsoever.*'

This is the language and the law of slavery; and upon this law, guarded with jealousy by their political institutions, the slaveholders of the South rest their claims to property in man. But, sir, there are claims anterior to all human laws, and superior to all political institutions, which are immutable in their nature—claims which are the birthright of every human being, of every clime and of every color—claims which God has conferred, and which man cannot destroy without sacrilege, or infringe without sin. Personal liberty is among these, the greatest and the best, for it is the root of all other rights, the conservative principle of human associations, the spring of public virtues, and essential to national strength and greatness.

The monstrous and wicked assumption of power by man over his fellow-man which slavery implies, is alike abhorrent to the moral sense of mankind, to the immutable principles of justice, to the righteous laws of God, and to the benevolent principles of the gospel. It is, therefore, indignantly repudiated by the fundamental laws of all truly enlightened and civilized communities; and by none more emphatically than by that over which, sir, it is your honor to preside.

The great doctrine that 'God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, and that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' is affirmed in your Declaration of Independence, and justified in the theory of your constitutional laws. But there is a stain upon your glory. Slavery, in its most abject and revolting form, pollutes your soil; the wailings of slaves mingle with your songs of liberty, and the clank of their chains is heard in horrid discord with the chorus of your triumphs.

The records of your States are not less distinguished by their wise provisions for securing the order, and maintaining the institutions of your country, than by their ingenious devices for rivetting the chains, and perpetuating the degradation of your colored brethren. Their education is branded as a crime against the State; their freedom is dreaded as a blasting pestilence; the bare suggestion of their emancipation is proscribed as treason to the cause of American Independence.

These things are uttered in sorrow; for the Committee deeply deplore the flagrant inconsistency so glaringly displayed between the lofty principles embodied in the great charter of your liberties, and the evil practices which have been permitted to grow up under it, to mar its beauty and impair its strength.

But it is not on these grounds alone, or chiefly, that they deplore the existence of slavery in the United States. Manifold as are the evils which flow from it, dehumanizing as are its tendencies, fearful as its reaction confessedly is on its supporters, the reproach of its existence does not terminate in the institutions which gave it birth. The sublime principles and benign spirit of Christianity are dishonored by it. In the light of divine truth, it stands revealed, in all its hideous deformity, A CRIME AGAINST GOD, a daring usurpation of the prerogative and authority of the Most High. It is as a violation of his righteous laws, an outrage on his glorious attributes, a renunciation of the claims of his blessed gospel, that they especially deplore the continuance and support it receives among you; and, in the spirit of christian love and fraternal solicitude, they would counsel its immediate and complete overthrow, as a solemn and imperative duty, the performance of which no sordid reasons should be permitted to retard, and no political considerations to prevent. Slavery is a sin against God, and ought, therefore, to be abolished.

The utter extinction of slavery, and its sister abomination, the internal slave trade—second only in horror and extent in the United States to the African, and in some of its features even more revolting—can be argued by the philanthropists of this country only on the abstract principles of moral and religious duty; and to those principles the people of your great republic are pledged on the side of freedom beyond every nation of the world.

The negro, by nature our equal, made like ourselves in the image of his Creator, gifted with the same intelligence, impelled by the same passions, and redeemed by the same Savior, is reduced by cupidity and oppression below the level of the brute; spoiled of his humanity, plundered of his rights, and often hurried to a premature grave, the miserable victim of avarice and heedless tyranny! Men have presumptuously dared to wrest from their fellows the most precious of their rights—to intercept, as far as they may, the bounty and grace of the Almighty—to close the door to their intellectual progress—to shut every avenue to their moral and religious improvement—to stand between them and their Maker! It is against this crime the Committee protest, as men and as Christians; and they earnestly and respectfully call upon you, sir, to use the high powers with which you are invested to bring it to a peaceful and speedy close.

May you, in closing your public career, and in the latest hours of your existence on earth, be consoled with the reflection, that you have not despised the afflictions of the afflicted; but that, faithful to the trusts of your high stewardship, you have been 'just, ruling in the fear of God'—that you have executed judgment for the oppressed, and have aided in the deliverance of your country from its greatest crime, and its chief reproach!

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

London, March 8th, 1841.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

LAW OF SLAVERY IN OHIO.

MR. EDITOR—Your correspondent, the 'Author of Federalism,' in Saturday's paper, is much aggrieved at the recent (supposed) decisions of this State on the subject of slavery. He assails them with considerable fervor, and shows that he intends to hold both the bench and the bar, (if not in fact the community at large,) jointly and severally, as we lawyers say, responsible for them. The outrage he considers enormous: in the language of the Louisville Journal, it is "flagitious."

We propose to examine briefly his positions—how they stand in the first place in the light of reason, and in the second place in that of authority.—The question is one of high constitutional interest. It concerns the highest of rights, also the highest of duties, viz: those of one member of the confederacy to another; and it embraces, in the scope of its application, the whole wide limits of the Confederacy. It should be examined with candor, and decided by the light of truth, of impartial justice, of unbiased reason.

The cardinal error of your correspondent, it strikes me, is, that he considers that the rights of property are the only, or at least the paramount ones secured by the Federal Constitution, and hence that where a slave—property in Kentucky—a free man and incapable of being property in Ohio—not by his own fault or as consequent upon any escape from service in his own State, the great law of personal freedom which *prima facie* attaches to every human being, should be made to yield to the local provisions of Kentucky in favor of slavery and the rights of property. This we do not consider as tenable ground. The law of Ohio (we instance her, but the argument applies to all the free States) does not recognize within its borders the existence of slavery. As a member of the Union she s bound to deliver up fugitives—fugitives from justice and fugitives from service. With that exception, the law of slavery is unknown to us. With that exception, every man in the State is a free man. He is not so merely by the common law, which would indeed suffice for it, but the Ordinance of '87 guarantees it and precludes the possibility of its being otherwise. It declares that in the territory northwest of the Ohio, slavery or involuntary servitude shall not exist, except as a punishment for crimes.

A slave then finds himself in Ohio—lawfully and properly there, by the permission, say the command of his master. He claims that he is a freeman—that within this jurisdiction there is no power to make him a slave. What plea in bar can be set up to it? He presents himself before the tribunal and declares that he is a man!—in the language of Terrence Homo Sum. Has the ingenuity of your learned correspondent any thing to suggest against it? And the tribunal, in view of the acknowledged principles of English and American law in the free States, and of the direct guaranty of the Ordinance, declares that he is so:—Whereat your correspondent boils over with indignation, and in his exuberant wrath denounces the bench as a humbug, and the bar as a set of rascally pettifoggers. All of this, probably, like Montaigne's legal questions—"*pour l'ami.*" And how could the Court do otherwise?—They but followed the current of decisions—decisions in States where no such provisions as that of the Ordinance, existed. And with the Ordinance staring it in the face, what can a Court do? That declares that involuntary servitude shall not exist here. Shall they decide that it may? It matters not as to time. If it may for an hour, it may for a life-time. If it may for an instant, it may for a whole eternity.

But your correspondent urges that the Court in Ohio is bound to deliver the slave in such a case on certain other grounds:

Because the Constitution of the Union recognizes the right of property in slaves; because the Constitution provides that the "citizens of each State shall be entitled in every other to the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States;" because there is no reason why a citizen of Kentucky, travelling with his "body servant" through Ohio, should be any more liable to forfeit him on that account, than the citizen of Ohio travelling through Kentucky with his horse, to forfeit that; and lastly, in that the Constitution declares that private property shall not be taken for public use, without compensation.

As to this, I would say, that the question is not one of forfeiture or not; there is no forfeiture in the case. No one claims any interest in the slave, or divests to his own behoof the slave owner of his rights. The question itself is one of ownership—a question of property—a question between the slave for his freedom and the master for his servitude;—and when litigated in our forum, the principles of our jurisprudence are those that are to decide it.—Neither is it a case of private property taken for public use. It is not the State requiring the owner to divest himself of his ownership. The State needs no "body servant." The Court needs none. The very question is—of any property at all—and the simple statement of it would seem sufficient to decide it. Can slave property exist in Ohio? It certainly cannot—as clear as positive precept and injunction can make it, it is impossible. We are bound for certain purposes, and to a certain extent, to recognize its existence in Kentucky; in transactions between its own citizens there, to recognize it on principles of international law; in the single case provided for in the Constitution, of slaves escaping from there, to recognize and enforce it here on the ground of our obligations under the compact—but nothing further. When the question is litigated on our own ground between the parties individually concerned, there can be but one decision—the great law of personal freedom must prevail.

As to the illustration adduced, there is this very material distinction. The privilege of the habeas corpus does not extend to a horse. We have, it is said, a case from a distinguished authority known as the 1st Ayres and Brown, where it was brought for a dog; but I am not aware that any Court has yet gone the length of deciding that it would lie for a horse.

It only remains to examine if the other provisions cited embrace this case—for if they do, they of course are paramount. "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of the several States." In other words, the citizen of Kentucky is entitled in Ohio to the privileges of a citizen of Ohio. It can mean nothing else; for otherwise it would subvert our own law. Can the citizen of Ohio then hold property in a slave? It is too clear for argument. The discussions in the Convention show how this very matter was there regarded. "I wish," says Gen. Pinckney, of South Carolina, "that some provisions should be included in favor of property in slaves." This in the discussion upon this very article. (Madison Papers, Debate of August 27.) He was dissatisfied with it; but the Convention were not, and refused to amend—seven to one.

But your correspondent goes further, and contends that the right of property in slaves is recognized and guaranteed explicitly in the Federal Constitution. This is strong doctrine. Will it bear the test?

The Constitution, it is well known, was framed as a matter of compromise. There was a large slaveholding interest to conciliate—or at least not to repel. To do this, it was not necessary to recognize as a right that which the slaveholder himself, of those times, hardly pretended to, and which he regretted to exist with him, as deeply as others. It was only necessary to recognize it as an actual state of things—*de facto* existent—with whose rightfulness or propriety it had nothing to do, and to protect it against fraudulent or furtive evasions of it, which in the provision as to the escape of fugitives is done. The Constitution simply guaranteed the *statu quo.* Further it did not go, and your correspondent will find it very difficult, I apprehend, to show that it did.

What say the framers themselves, in reference to this matter? In the debate upon the claim allowing Congress, after the year 1808, to prohibit the importation of slaves, and till then to lay duty on them to a certain extent, Mr. Sherman said, (Madison Papers, debate of Aug. 25,) that he was opposed to the article reported, "as acknowledging men to be property by taxing them as such," &c. The clause in the article as reported, was that they should be subject to the "common imposts on articles not enumerated." Mr. Madison "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution, the idea that there could be such a thing as property in man," (as he was his own reporter, there cannot be any mistake in this;) he also was opposed to it, and at the end of the debate, we find the article amended unanimously to read, (so as it now stands, in the Constitution,) "but a law or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding $10 for each person." If names are anything—and we will let the framers of the Constitution tell their own story—they certainly meant something by the substitution, and that something was a something in favor of the personality of the slave.

The argument then falls, basis, superstructure and all, and comes down on the heads of its contrivers. The great principles of the English common law are the principles of our own. There can be in a free State no property in man. The doctrines of the habeas corpus act, of the Bill of Rights, of Magna Charter itself—doctrines incorporated into every branch of our constitutional law—forbid it.—The slave (if not a fugitive) treads the soil of Ohio, as he would that of England, a freeman. And he is so because there is no process or doctrine of law which can make him a slave.

These are familiar principles; they are not now for the first time broached or recognized. They have been settled by the decisions of the English courts and our own, in the slave States as well as in the free, upon various occasions, running back almost to the formation of the Constitution. A sketch of these various decisions I will give in my next; if your correspondent himself does not acknowledge upon the strength of them the law to be settled, I think him deficient in candor. SHERMAN.

BRITISH INDIA.

Last evening a meeting was held at the Royal Exchange, May 19, for the purpose of bringing before the public the claims of this vast dependency of Britain.

Mr. RICHARD ALLEN in the Chair. The Chairman said he wished at the commencement of the meeting to bring before it a subject connected with British India. It was the fact that slavery, to a great extent, existed there. Many persons were of opinion that when slavery was got rid of in our West India colonies it was altogether abolished within the territories of Britain, but such was not the fact. A much larger number of bondsmen remained in India and Ceylon then were liberated in the West Indies (hear.) It was our bounden duty to seek their immediate liberation. The fact of slavery existing in Ceylon was most extraordinary. Ceylon is a crown colony, and no reason whatever exists why her bondsmen were not liberated in common with those of the West Indies and Mauritius (hear, hear.)

The Chairman then read the following petition which was numerously signed during the meeting:—

"To the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

"The Petition of the undersigned, Inhabitants of the City of Dublin,

"Respectfully Showeth—

"That your petitioners have learned with deep regret that slavery still continues to a great extent in British India and Ceylon.

"That your petitioners feel that so long as the curse of personal bondage exists in any part of the dominions of Britain her moral power in forwarding its abolition elsewhere must be greatly lessened.

"Your petitioners therefore earnestly request that immediate measures may be taken to give unconditional freedom to every bondsman within the territories of Britain."

Mr. J. H. Webb stated that his attention was first drawn to the subject of British India from hearing of the dreadful famines of that country, which led him to the consideration of what were the causes which produced this misery. By reading on the subject, he came to the conclusion that under the system of government in that country it was impossible but that such effects would ensue (hear, hear.) The government was the sole landlord. They fixed the rental by the produce of a year of plenty; and if the following year the crops turned out badly, the farmers were obliged to pay the same as in the time of plenty; and if one was not able to pay his rent, it was levied off the district. The consequence was, that as the country became poor, the industrious man was constantly made to pay for his poorer neighbors, which had the effect of stunting his energies and destroying his hopes. Another cause was, that the East India Company forced the people to cultivate opium, and discouraged the cultivation of cotton; and opium, which is more destructive than whiskey, had the effect of destroying the health and reducing the strength of the people (hear.) His researches led him to the conclusion that it was his duty as well as his privilege to extend the knowledge of the subject in every possible way (cheers.)

The Chairman said that the more he reflected on the subject of British India, the more he felt the vast interests that are involved in obtaining justice for that immense territory. Not that he did not consider it was their bounden duty to seek justice for the few as for the many; but the call was for one hundred and fifty millions, and the return for it would give unbounded prosperity at home, in the shape of an immensely increased demand for our manufactures (hear.) Since he had last addressed an assembly in that room he had visited England, and had met with the talented and indefatigable George Thompson, who had now entirely devoted his energies to the cause of British India, with Professor Adam, the secretary of the British Society, and with individuals lately returned from India, and all concurred in the testimony that improvement was rapidly going forward in India, and that the agitation in these countries had produced a powerful effect there. The speaker then alluded to the vast increase of sugar imported by England from the East Indies—that it had increased many fold in three years—and that this was but a sample of what India could do if her resources were developed. He alluded to the cheapness of labor in India, as compared with that where slavery existed, and showed that it was only necessary to develope the resources of India to forward the abolition of slavery all the world over (loud cheers.)

Counsellor Moore spoke of the flagrant injustice done to India. He dwelt on her immense capabilities, gave a history of the cotton manufacture, and showed how wretched the system was, which depressed free labor to encourage that performed by slaves.

HIBERNIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

On Tuesday evening, May 25, a meeting was held at the Royal Exchange for the purpose of promoting the cause of the abolition of slavery.

JAMES HAUGHTON, Esq., in the chair. The Chairman said that some explanation was necessary why the present meeting was held out of its regular course. It was in consequence of a gentleman from America, J. A. Collins, who belonged to the oldest society there, being at present in town, and who was expected to address the meeting. The Chairman then read some extracts from a work entitled, "Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States," proving, from the lips of the slaveholders themselves, that the negroes are cruelly beaten, mutilated, and oppressed in every possible way.

Mr. R. Allen said, that as several speakers were present, and his friend, John A. Collins, had arrived, he would merely inform the meeting that the petition for the abolition of slavery in British India and Ceylon, brought forward this evening week, had been numerously signed, and forwarded to Daniel O'Connell, Esq., for presentation.

After a few words from Mr. R. D. Webb,

Counsellor Moore came forward and said that many people were satisfied with saying there was slavery at home, and that they had nothing to do with that which was abroad. But this would not do (hear.) While such a dreadful system existed as that which made chattels of nearly three millions of American citizens, none should be silent. The system was entirely opposed to Christianity, and Christians every where should endeavor to get rid of it. What could be more opposed to Christianity than that which separated husbands from wives, parents from children—which ruthlessly severed the dearest ties—which was deaf to the wildest shrieks, uttered in the extreme of parental grief—which knew no limits in the use of the lash, the manacle, and the chain—which set at naught the first and dearest rights of human nature? Surely such a system as this called for exertion to annihilate it from every Christian mind. He trusted Irishmen would unceasingly feel that it was their duty to abolish slavery wherever it existed.

John A. Collins, Esq., agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, then addressed the meeting, rejoiced that he at length was about to address an audience composed of the Irish people with whom he had so long sympathised. He had lately been in Glasgow, where he had witnessed a vast deal of wretchedness and depravity, whilst in Ireland he had as yet seen nothing which could be compared with these. He was an abolitionist, and not only an abolitionist, but the representative of three millions of slaves; these were his clients (cheers.) Yet on this occasion he did not think it necessary to enlarge upon the horrors and the unutterable wickedness of slavery. The simple fact that millions of American slaves were under the absolute control of their masters, and that man cannot be safely committed unprotected to the authority of man, sufficed to show how terrible the results which must arise from such a system. The existence of slavery is interwoven with the sordid interests of the free states as well as those in which it is permitted to exist by law. The south is filled with clergymen, physicians, merchants, and lawyers, who have emigrated from the north, and thus become implicated with the cruel system. The city of New-Yotk has got 100 millions of property mortgaged on slaves. Is it wonderful, then, that the city of New-York should be hostile to the abolition of slavery? No wonder that every word spoken against slavery should be fiercely opposed by those who have a direct interest in its continuance. The moment a preacher from the north should dare to preach against slavery his life would be in danger—he must not dare to open his mouth for the enslaved and the dumb. When William Lloyd Garrison first openly declared, in the city of Boston, about ten years ago, that all slavery is sin, he was looked on as a fanatic and a madman, so outrageously inconsistent had the American people become in their views and their practice on those great questions of personal and political liberty which they so loudly boast of before the world!—(hear, hear.) When the abolitionists had increased in number, in energy, and influence, persecution, hot and heavy, was the consequence, although for a length of time the slaveholders and their partizans had regarded that agitation of the subject with contempt and indifference. The State of Georgia, 700 miles from Massachusetts, where Garrison resided and published his famous abolition paper, the Liberator, offered a reward of $5,000 to any one who would bring him dead or alive into the State. Everett, Governor of Massachusetts, actually offered a few years ago to present a law to the legislature, making it an offence indictable at common law to discuss the question of slavery. He has since been converted by the progress which the question has made in the public mind. The free states have a majority in Congress of 46 over the slave states; if we could only reach this majority by putting forth sufficient abolition power to influence them through the people whom they represent (cheers.) The main supporters of the abolition cause in America are the poor—not the rich, the great, and the influential. The speaker then reverted to the pecuniary difficulties which have of late obstructed the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society. He related some striking instances of the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice which the abolitionists have evinced for the maintenance of the cause. He appealed to the love of liberty and the spirit of sympathy with the oppressed which he trusted throbbed in the hearts of Irishmen, that they would maintain a hearty interest in the anti-slavery cause, and thus be instrumental in upholding the hearts of the abolitionists of America (cheers.)

NOTES FROM THE LETTERS OF A TRAVELLER IN BRAZIL.

ANECDOTE OF TWO RUNAWAY SLAVES.

——Shortly after, two runaway slaves were brought to the door of the venda, (a public house, or inn.)—They were tall, well-looking men. They were directed to sit down, which they accordingly did on the earth, with their backs against the wall of the venda. Shortly afterwards their master arrived.—He had a well caparisoned horse. He entered the venda, and took the other end opposite to mine, so that I had no communication with him. He had scarcely entered, when a by-stander asked them (the slaves) a question, which they answered by sounds of Bow, wow, wow, intimating that they were taken by dogs. I now learned that these poor creatures were new negroes, who could not speak Portuguese. Alas! torn from their homes and relations, and transported to a country in which, by the law of 1831, they are virtually free; but now cheated of that freedom by perjury, forgery, and fraud! My new acquaintance walked with me as I turned from this scene, and shortly after asked my opinion on slavery. I was in no mood for duplicity or disguise, and was favored with a flow of words by which I argued its wickedness, and proved that free labor was more profitable. In all this he appeared to be well pleased. We parted, and I returned to the venda. It was now six o'clock, and the runaways were ordered to stand up, which they obeyed. Their blankets or rugs, as full of dust and dirt as if they had been used for wiping the road, were now thrown over them.—These covered their heads, and hung down to their knees. Such a picture of misery was never surpassed, particularly when the owner, well and comfortably dressed, was seen to retire to a good dinner, whilst these poor creatures were led to the stable to sleep for the night under charge of two keepers. At night I resolved to ask pardon for the captives. I accordingly rose on hearing the keeper open the door of the stable, which was underneath my room. I opened my window, and asked him if he thought

I could obtain their pardon. He replied, "Nao, Senhor, that cannot be." I, however, wrote the following note to the owner (the note was in Portuguese, but I translate it:) "I entreat pardon for the two slaves, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who said, 'Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful.' I hope that, if you grant this petition, our Father in heaven, will bless you and your family." I now heard the keeper preparing to move his prisoners, and I opened my window. It was a cloudy, misty, cold morning. I called him again, and offered him money if he would deliver it to his master, at the same time telling him the subject.—He replied, "Can you not deliver it yourself?"—"How? he is in bed?" "No, Senhor, he is up, preparing to accompany us." I threw my cloak over my dress, and went through the rain into his parlor, where he was with the landlord, and one of his keepers. He was seated at the table. I presented him my card, which he read. I told him the object of my visit, but, saying that I could write Portuguese better than speak it, I requested he would peruse the note, which I now presented. He read it over, paused, and read it again. His countenance seemed to indicate that his conscience required more than he was willing to grant. He read it again—paused—at length he said, "Eu nao os tocareei, I will not touch them." I retired, thanking him, and returned to my bed, where sweet sleep closed my eyes until eight o'clock, when the master and his captives were miles away. I now prepared for my departure; and, when I had advanced some miles on my journey, I saw one of the keepers, who was in the breakfast room with the slave-owner, when I presented my petition for the pardon of the captives. I moved towards him, and anxiously desiring to know how the poor creatures were treated, extended my arm, as offering to shake hands with him.—But he advanced, saying "Nao, nao, nao, Senhor;" and stooping, took my foot and kissed it. I was much-affected by this, but my anxiety for the slaves prevented my giving way, until I asked if they were really pardoned. He replied, "Yes, they were not touched." I sent a kind message of thanks, and moved forward. O love! love! surely thy power is omnipotent, that thus thou couldst make a human being offer such a mark of attention as to kiss my feet. All the whips in the Brazilian empire could not do this.

From L'Esperance.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

The cause of the emancipation of the negroes has made great progress within a few years, in the public opinion of France. So far has this gone, that a minister declared, a few days since, in the tribune, that it was this irresistible force of opinion which the government had obeyed, in constituting a council to determine the best mode of arriving at this result. Some decisions favorable to the negroes have already followed. Regulations for the treatment of slaves have been made for the colonies; ecclesiastics and schoolmasters have been sent to them; and we, in France, happy in the adoption of these measures, have not doubted an instant that they would have the proper effect. But, alas! it is one thing to make regulations, and another to enforce them. In a word, according to a little volume entitled *The Poor Negros*, which has just been published, every thing remains at the Antilles as it was before the men and laws arrived. Our readers may judge by the following extracts, and they will then see more clearly the necessity of adopting some definite measures.

In the colonies, the code noir, the successive ordonnances, the various regulations, half-measures, the abortive plans of improvement, the ministerial instructions, exhibit plenty of official ameliorations, loudly proclaimed in administrative correspondence, solemnly stated in parliamentary documents, repeated to satiety in the *Monituer*, and inserted in the columns attached to all the journals: but what is actually done in these islands, on which they shower down so many beneficent laws? This is what I saw in 1839, and even so lately as yesterday.

I was requested to administer baptism to a negro, thirty-five years of age. His mistress, who is one of the most respectable persons in Port Royal, and who acted as interpreter, observed that the patient knew enough of Christianity, and desired baptism. I interrogated him myself, and, on satisfactory evidence on his part, I administered it. The lady took me into the parlor, and this was our conversation:

"Is it not unfortunate, M. l'abbe, that my husband persists in keeping so passionate a driver for our negros? This is the second he has lost us; and the first was as stout as this. They are worth 1500 francs (£60) each."

"Has he beaten the man too severely?"

"No; only one blow; which, however, has affected him so unfortunately that it will kill kim."

"The drivers always strike the vertebræ of the neck when they are enraged."

"But why did he strike him?"

"He was entrusted with part of the cargo of a ship, which he had to carry a certain distance. It appears that he was fatigued, and that, meeting a free negro, he asked him to share his burden; our driver, seeing this, and being angry at it, hurled him a blow, by which we shall lose 1500 francs."

In an hour afterwards this unfortunate man died, and M—— lost 1500 francs.

The governor being informed of this assassination, directed the law officers to investigate the affair; and in twenty-four hours the magistrates were sufficiently enlightened to declare that there was no ground for further proceeding.

Not long ago it was resolved to reach emancipation by religious instruction. We will examine presently the value of this measure, on which every one seems to rely. What has already taken place is this. On the demand of the minister, M. de Mackau, the Governor in 1837 proposed to the council of Martinique a vote of 30,000 francs, as a remuneration for priests who should devote themselves, in the fields and cottages, to the religious instruction of the slaves. The inhabitants, resolved as they were never to open their premises to such dangerous apostles, nevertheless enthusiastically accepted this proposition, and this supplement to the budget was voted unanimously. The colonists would prove to the capital that they were animated by the best spirit.

They gave another evidence of it. Funds were entrusted to M. Castelli, prefect apostolical, that he might return to France, and choose some ecclesiastics suitable to the work. After being absent a year, he returned alone. The vote had made a noise, but the 30,000 francs remained in the chest. The prefect, however, had shown some zeal, in the business. He had frankly approved and promoted it. He had scarcely returned to the chief town of the colony, when his house was burnt down, and he escaped only with his life, and the loss of everything he had in the world. This has been generally attributed to the ill-will of the whites. The culprits have known how to evade the inquiries of the police and the government.

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What is the cause of the uselessness of the schools, established at a great expense for the education of the blacks? It is to be found in the tyranny of the planters. When France sent them instructors, they monopolized them for their own children, and prohibited them to the little negroes. Thus, as we have said, the clergy established at the Antilles, from their first colonization, have not at all modified the system of slavery. This is not because they are not willing, but because they are not able. At the present moment the government is founding establishments for the brethren of christian instruction. Some of the teachers have already opened schools at Gaudaloupe and Martinique. The utmost pains is taken to mould their ideas after those of the planters. They are lodged in handsome apartments; they have slaves to wait on them, with horses and boats for their journeys: but they cannot be at peace, even in private life, unless they are seen to adopt, in all their lessons, the love of tyranny and contempt for the slave class. Is it possible that young rustics from the hamlets of Brittany should resist this system of creole seduction?

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It was for the same purpose that the minister of marine established, some years since, a house for the sisters of the congregation of St. Joseph, at the town of St. Pierre. These ladies soon received at their establishment none but white children, because, seeing that this sagacious preference brought them 55,000 to 60,000 francs annually, seeing also that those who held out their arms to them were rich, and could afford them effectual protection, they have not hesitated to give to their instructions that colonial spirit and irreligious tendency which have just drawn from the bishop of Autun, their superior, that formal condemnation in which M. Quelen has shown his entire concurrence, by prohibiting the celebration of holy offices in their mother house at Paris. Now, for this school, from which little girls of color, although free, are thus repelled, the government has created a situation which is worth 100,000 francs, and it pays annually towards the support of the religieuses from 25,000 to 30,000 francs. Slaves belonging to government they have for servants. The expenses of their voyages and journeys are defrayed. They draw from their sixty pupils a revenue of 71,000 francs, annually: and why these enormous charges? For the whites to the exclusion of the blacks.

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With money at Paris, one can open for one's-self all the royal colleges, and the evil consists only in the nature of the instruction and the quantity of the teachers; but at the Antilles, every establishment, every college, all instruction is prohibited to the very great majority of the population. Ignorance is the normal condition of a slave people, and the colonists will find means of perpetuating it. There are two ways by which the negros may be led to knowledge. First, the lessons sold by the schoolmasters, who make them buy them. Now the negros have no money. On the other hand, their attendance at the school is a recreation: their labor is never interrupted. Secondly, the lessons given gratuitously by the priests, the brethren, and religious persons; and we have seen how they get rid of them. For the rest, the workshops are closed against them; and whenever they may seem disposed to force an entrance, they will be driven from the colony. The last ordonnances (1840) for the instruction of the young negros have been universally denounced as impracticable.

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Nothing but liberty, immediate liberty, emancipation without indemnity, can make this enormous evil disappear. Such a law would, as by enchantment, make the entire population, both masters and slaves, see no more safety but in liberty, which, we know, is the life of all things. The proprietors, in losing their slaves, would recollect that they have lands; and, having no other method or hope of obtaining it, instead of favoring the ignorance of the people, which is fatal to them, they would push on instruction, in order to give to labor, which had become free, the skill, the sagacity, and the energy, which should make agriculture and every other employment flourish. In their turn, the emancipated would feel, in their new relief, a more imperious want of instruction, and would gradually raise themselves in knowledge and in wealth. The colonies, then worthy of France, would have been regenerated by her.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH J. Q. ADAMS.

Long life to the brave and true-hearted old man!

To the Hon. John Quincy Adams:

Sir: We, the people of color, residents of Columbus, Ohio, deeply touched with the results of the trial of the Anistad captives, and sensible of the efficiency of your philanthropic efforts in their behalf, desire to express to you the gratitude which we think every humane heart in this native land must feel. We, therefore, assembled to congratulate each other on the joyful event referred to, have

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the Hon. John Q. Adams, for the example he has set this nation, in the deep interest he has manifested for the due administration of justice to the weak and defenceless, and that the secretary of this meeting be directed to forward to the Hon. John Q. Adams this resolution.

D. Jenkins,
H. Johnson, } *Committee.*
J. Bennett,

To the above Mr. Adams returned the following reply.

Washington, April 15th, 1841.

Fellow Citizens:

I have received your letter, of the 30th of last month, together with the resolution of your constituent body communicated in it, and I pray you and them to be assured that I never received from any body of men a vote of thanks more grateful to my feelings than yours.

My only regret is, that any effort for the administration of justice, whether to the rich, or to the poor, to the feeble or the strong, should be thought to deserve the thanks of any portion of the community. I hope and trust that the day is not far remote when *justice* will be universally considered as the common right of all, unconfined by any unjust and oppressive distinctiction of color or complexion.

Whoever shall contribute to that result will be entitled to my thanks as to yours, and though I may not live to see the day, he has them, and my prayers for his success in advance. I am, with respect, your friend and fellow citizen,

John Q. Adams.

Messrs. D. Jenkins, W. Johnson and J. Bennett, committee of the people of color, residents of the city of Columbus, Ohio.

OHIO ANNIVERSARY.

The Philanthropist makes the following excellent remarks concerning the sixth anniversary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, at Mt. Pleasant.

"We had a curious mixture of people at our anniversary—judges, generals, professors, preachers, lawyers, doctors, farmers and mechanics—heterodox and orthodox quakers, catholics, seceders, methodists, baptists—democrats, whigs and political abolitionists;—never was there a greater medley, and yet, never have we seen among abolitionists, more of the true spirit of brotherhood, a greater unity of purpose. Let no one mistake the cause. Individual independence was not sacrifised. Principle was not compromised. The Catholic did not cease to reverence 'Holy mother church,' or the Friend to repudiate mere forms, or the Calvinist to eschew Arminianism. No act of uniformity was attempted to be passed. The secret of the whole matter was—all realized the grandeur of the object for which they had assembled; all were impressed with the absolute necessity of union in order to success; all recognized the fact, that they might unite to carry out the great law of love without any surrender of speculative peculiarities; all felt that in relation to slavery they stood in the attitude of *men*, not sectarists; and all trusted each other, harboring no suspicion that any attempt would be made to entrap them into the support of that which conscience disapproved. For a Christian to join a Turk in his worship, would be to turn traitor to Jesus of Nazareth; but to unite with him in pouring oil into the wounds of a waylaid Samaritan, would be no denial of Christianity, no recognition of the Koran—it would be simply to recognize man as a brother, and obey the claims of a common Humanity."

THE WHIGS OF NEW-YORK.

The Address of Whig members of the Legislature, to the People of New-York, contains the following:

"By an act, which you wlll find among the laws we have passed, the State of New-York stands before the world totally absolved from all participation in the physical bondage of the African race.

The correspondence which has taken place, between Governor Seward and the several executive officers of Virginia, in relation to the surrender of three citizens of this State, charged as fugitives from justice, cannot have escaped your notice. We hardly know which most challenges your approbation, the enduring principles of human liberty on which the Executive of this State has placed himself, or the dignified and masterly manner in which he has defended his position. We are satisfied that the common sentiment of the People of this State must ere long respond with unanimous approbation of a course so enlightened and so just. That a fierce partizan effort has been made to cast odium upon his conduct, must be viewed as the natural but temporary consequence of political disappointment. The fact that his *acts* have been approved while his *reasons* have been condemned, is substantial evidence of the total groundlessness of their opposition, and proves that, in this, as in every important measure of his administration, his opponents have not ventured to take a direct issue upon the practical wisdom or sound democracy of his course."

JAMAICA.

The Rev. Ralph Tyler, a missionary who has been more than a year in Jamaica, teaching the emancipated slaves, writes thus:—

"But all classes are alive to property. There is no idleness here. All at the low wages of 25 or 37 cents per day, are fast accumulating property, and many at this early period of freedom have their house, and land enough to support their families. There is a good degree of anxiety felt for education, and when a school is in the neighborhood, they generally send, and some take great pains to educate their children. I may say it is a universal truth, they do not spend their money for trifling, useless things. Their habits of temperance ought to put Americans to shame. Many are becoming down-right te-totalers. Their great temptation is covetousness; and this I fear. How natural it is for those who have been kept in abject poverty, when opportunity presents, to hasten to the other extreme. Yet at present, they are far more liberal than American professors. The colored people here are doing honor to themselves, and exposing the devices of pro-slavery prognosticators. At the rate they are advancing, they will certainly be an educated, wealthy, happy people in a few years."

The Comparison.—Truth is stronger than eloquence; the spirit is mightier than genius; faith is greater than learning.—*Luther.*

Communications.

MOVEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Boston, June 21, 1841.

My Dear Friend:

The public mind of Great Britain is so saturated with the anti-slavery sentiment, that with the arrival of every steamer from Liverpool, we look for something to strengthen our faith and animate our hopes, as abolitionists. The movement for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade is now a prominent feature of the history of the human race. England, the most civilized, the most intellectual, *the freest* nation on the globe, is at the head of this movement. To repair her wrongs to the negro, lies at the very heart of that great people. How freely do they apply their pecuniary and moral resources for the suffering slave. Twice blessed are her bounties.

I once supposed, that when the blacks in her own colonies were freed, her interest in the subject of slavery would subside. But she is making that spirit of proselytism, which, in our own country, does its part, (I fear too considerable a part,) towards supporting the noble cause of religious missions, conducive to the promotion of practical righteousness. In a word, she is acting Christianity among the heathen, instead of only preaching it. She is showing that men can be as zealous in the cause of universal humanity as for the interests of party and sect.

These remarks are suggested by the debates in Parliament on the sugar duties, of which we have the close, by the Columbia. What is the ground upon which the reduction of those duties is mainly argued? It is upon their bearing on slavery. How beautiful, how encouraging, to see the representatives of the greatest commercial power in the world determining an economical and financial question of vast moment, in view, mainly, of its moral results; the genius of traffic compelled to do open homage to the spirit of Right, enthroned in the common heart.

To the proposition of the government for the reduction of the duties on foreign sugar, it is objected, as you are aware, that this measure would tend to stimulate the slave trade. In answer, Lord Palmerston takes occasion to enumerate what has been done for the suppression of that trade, since the accession of the present ministry. He says:

"*If indeed ministers thought that their proposition* [on the sugar duties] *was likely to encourage the slave trade, it would not have been made.* The suppression of that traffic was to be effected in two ways,—either by exercise of the utmost vigilance on the part of our maritime police, acting under treaties with Foreign Governments; or else by the measures which Foreign Governments themselves might be induced to adopt. The measure now proposed would materially aid in both those respects. When the Whigs first entered office in 1830, the slave trade was carried on to the greatest extent, chiefly under the flags of Spain and Portugal. The first thing that Ministers did was to procure an extension of the treaty with those countries, and a new treaty with France. That was of no use, however, without they could obtain such treaties from every power in the world that had a vessel sailing on the ocean.

"We have made great progress in the work. We have treaties now ratified and concluded with France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, the Hanse Towns, Sardinia, Venezuela, and Buenos Ayres. We have also treaties concluded, but there had not been time for the ratifications to arrive, with Brazil, Chili, Monte Video, Mexico, and Texas. We were negotiating a treaty—which had been adopted, and the signatures to which were only delayed in consequence of circumstances arising out of the recent changes in Europe—between England, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, founded on the treaty already concluded with France.—I have the best reason also for believing, that when that treaty shall be ultimately concluded, Belgium, Hanover, and Greece will not withold their assent from it. In Greece we have very recently prevailed upon the Government to pass a law prohibiting the slave trade in the Mediterranean carried on by Greek ships. We are negotiating on the same subject with the state of Equator, in South America; and I hope to have the treaty soon.—A treaty with Peru had not been entered into only because the Government of that state was in a condition which rendered it impossible to obtain from it a treaty of any sort. If we were to succeed in these treaties, as we have every reason to hope we shall, *there will then remain, of all the states in Christendom, but* the single exception of the United States of America, *that will not be engaged in a general league for the suppression of the slave trade.* They have hitherto been deterred by the name of the right of search; and they did not sufficiently remember that the right of search asked for the purpose of preventing traffic in slaves, was as different from the right of search against which they contended in their war with us, as any one thing could possibly be from another. I trust, therefore, that the people of America will not allow themselves to be carried away by a name, but will investigate the nature of things."

What a rebuke does this convey, of the hypocritical homily against the slave trade, with which our Presidents are wont to turn the closing sentence of their annual messages! Deeds, not words!

Lord Palmerston states it as the conviction of the ministry, that both Brazil and Cuba may be induced to give effect to their own laws against the slave trade, by the adoption of a wise and liberal policy on the part of England.

"In Brazil and Cuba the slave trade might have been suppressed already, had the existing laws against it been enforced. Why were they not, but that we had excited the jealously of those states, by always appearing as enemies; while by asserting, as Lord Sandon proposed to do, that free labor could not compete with slave labor, we were supplying them with the very best argument against their compliance with our demand, and falsifying all that we had said as to its expediency and feasibility. Would they not think, that to the odiousness of our commercial hostility we had been adding the meanness of falsehood and duplicity?"

He urges a reduction of the taxes on imported articles of general consumption, on the score of its benefits to the producing classes, whether employers or employed.—"Those who, on broad views, wished to extend the principles of liberty, should desire," he urges, "all that can contribute to the welfare of England." Hear this stirring passage. Must it not thrill the soul of every English reader?

"As long as England remains pre-eminent on the ocean of human affairs, there are none, be they ever so unfortunate, none be their condition ever so desperate or forlorn, who do not turn with a look of hope to the light that beams from hence. They may be beyond the reach of our power; still our sympathy and our moral influence can support them under their reverses, and hold out to them in the midst of their difficulties the hope of better days. But if, by the assaults of her enemies, or the errors of her misguided sons, England should fall, or her star lose its lustre, with her would fall the hopes of the Africans, whether on their own continent or in the great regions of America; and they would, for a time at least, be buried in despair. (*Loud cheers.*) I know no nation that is now ready, in this respect, to supply our place."

This is a noble, because a true boast. I find it no answer to reply, like our political speakers and newspapers, that Queen Ann was concerned in the slave trade, or that one of her successors, a century ago, refused his assent to the act by which Virginia attempted to prohibit that trade. Our people are always willing "to charge their sins to their ancestors, and leave repentance to posterity." The question is not what was done by England or America a hundred years ago, but what they are doing now. I cannot go into particulars here, which your memory will readily furnish, but this I will say, generally, that from the accession of George Canning as Foreign Secretary in 1822, a period of nearly twenty years, the policy of England has been more and more liberal and great, while ours has grown ever narrower and more regardless of principle and right. Every year, overburdened England is making greater efforts, and submitting to heavier sacrifices for the sake of humanity and freedom. Every year, for twenty years past, has witnessed our government sinking into more and more disgraceful subservience to the base interests and passions of slaveholders; our assertions of free principles becoming always fainter and more hollow. In a word, England has much to answer for, still; but the great point is, *she is making progress;* while we have been falling back from the faith and morals of our fathers.—The very perception of the rights of man, *as man*, grows dim among us. Liberty, in this country, as Dr. Follen said, is rather a fact than a principle. We are all continually meeting "respectable" people, who cannot be made to comprehend that the negro's right to freedom is more sacred than the master's claim to "property." "Are you in favor of slavery?" said a friend, the other day, to a merchant here. "I am in favor of *cotton*," was the significant reply.

In a country blessed with plenty, as ours is, where, as a friend pleasantly remarks, "the means of subsistence press upon the population," we, least of all people, have a right to plead the example of Europe, to countenance us in starving, brutalizing and enslaving our poor. England still misgoverns Ireland, and leaves India to the mercy of hard-hearted commercial monopolists; but England is taking gigantic steps in the career of reform. Ireland and India will soon have their turn. The heart of the nation is already touched for them. To the American slave alone, "hope never comes, that comes to all."

In the recent history of England, her Chinese war seems the only stain upon her fair fame. Nevertheless, in that whole campaign, there is less of perfidy and outrage, than in a single day of our blood-hound war in Florida.

In proportion as I love my country, I mourn its degeneracy from the principles of freedom and right. But its unfaithfulness will not be repented of, while it listens only to the flattery which pronounces it the most "free and enlightened on the earth."

To return to the debate in Parliament. I am gratified to see the manner in which the measure of West Indian Emancipation is spoken of by Sir Robert Peel, the great leader of the party which opposed that bill. Adverting to the interest of the British Colonies in the sugar question, the report states that,

"He now rested mainly upon a consideration of the social and moral condition of the West Indian people, under the experiment now in progress.

"He admitted that the liberality of this country had been so great, that if the personal and pecuniary interests of the West India proprietors only had been concerned, this House would have a right to call upon them to sacrifice their interests to a consideration of the public advantage. But he forgot their individual interests in the much higher considerations which were involved in this question, when he looked to the moral and social condition of the inhabitants of that part of the empire in which we had recently made the greatest and most hazardous, and apparently—and he admitted it with cordial satisfaction—THE MOST SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT THAT WAS EVER MADE IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD."

Lord Palmerston argued, like many of our anti-slavery brethren here, that it was futile for the English people to attempt to consume free sugar only, while they were obliged to take so many other articles produced by the labor of slaves.

"Do we not, I ask, encourage the slaves of North America to produce as much cotton as they can: and do we not send that cotton to South America, in order to induce them, by slave labor, to produce as much sugar as they can? We say to the Brazils, 'We can supply you with a quantity of cotton cheaper and better than you can get it elsewhere; will you buy it?' They say in return, 'Certainly we will, and we will pay you in sugar and coffee.' We say then, 'No, sugar and coffee are the produce of slave labor; we are men of principle, and our consciences will not allow us to consume slave labor sugar and coffee.' But does the transaction end here? do we then take our goods to a free labor market? No; we try to help them out of the difficulty: we say, 'We will not consume sugar and coffee, the produce of slave labor; but the Germans are not so conscientious; take your produce there, and get for it money, which we have no scruple to accept.' But the Brazilians say, 'There is still a difficulty in this: Germany is across the Atlantic; we have very few ships fit to cope with the waves of the ocean.' What do we then say? Our reply is, 'Oh, we have ships in plenty; we will carry your produce for you. Slave labor sugar shall not contaminate our warehouses, our shops, or our tables; but as to our ships, that is a very different thing. But the Brazilians say there is another difficulty—and indeed there is no end to them. The Brazilians say, 'The Germans like our sugar; but they are fond of refined sugar; we cannot refine our own sugar, and the Germans are not willing to do so.' But we again say 'Oh, we are aware of that; we will step in and help you: we will refine your sugar for you.' So, that, however sinful it may be to continue to use slave labor sugar, there is no sin in refining it. We refine it then, and think we have done. Not a bit: the Brazilians say, 'We have a great deal more sugar than the Germans want; what are we to do with it?' And what do we say in reply? Why, we say, 'We will buy it of you; we will not eat it ourselves, because we are conscientious men, but will send it to our West India islands, and to our distant settlements, there to be consumed by the negro or the colonist, who has no right to a conscience. It can do *them* no harm to eat slave labor sugar: and to prevent any difficulty, we tell you that if that will not do, and if through accident our own sugar shall get dear, we will eat your slave grown sugar ourselves.' Now, without wishing to give the slightsst offence, I ask, is not this the grossest hypocrisy? (*Loud cheers.*) And are we to be asked to forego an arrangement which will be attended with relief to our commerce and with assistance to our finances, upon pretences so hollow and so inconsistent with what we are doing every day?" (*Loud cheers.*)

This is ingeniously and forcibly stated, but seems not difficult to answer. To do so, however, comes so fairly within the province of our excellent and faithful friends of the "Free Produce Association," that I shall leave it for them to expose its fallacy.

The London Morning Chronicle contains a most memorable document,—a copy of a petition presented to the Governor of Cuba, by citizens of that island, setting forth the moral, political and economical evils of slavery and the slave trade, and praying him to exert his influence for their entire abolition. It is a long and ably written paper, and will, I hope, find its way into our journals. It is the first public movement for freedom, in that blood-stained island.

Faithfully, yours, E. G. L.

TALES OF OPPRESSION.

BY ISAAC T. HOPPER.

No. XXVI.

George Cooper.

George Cooper, a light mulatto, went to Philadelphia in the spring of 1802, and in the 5th month of that year, he was arrested as the fugitive servant of Samuel Laird, of Carlisle, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and committed to prison. At the time, I was one of the inspectors of that institution, and as I was passing through it, George accosted me, and informed me how he was circumstanced. I addressed a letter to his claimant, and in a few days I received an answer, dated May 9th, 1802, which mentioned, that he (Laird) had bought George Cooper of George Holmes, with whom his mother lived at the time of his birth. Upon investigation, it appeared, that the mother was a servant until she should be thirty-one years old, and was registered as such. Of course, her children were born free. George was about twenty-five years old, and was claimed by S. Laird as his property until he should arrive to the age of thirty-one, in consequence of his mother having been a servant until she was of that age.

Believing that Samuel Laird had no legal or equitable claim upon George, application was made to the Chief Justice, Edward Shippen, and a habeas corpus was issued, directing the keeper of the prison to bring George before him. A day was appointed for hearing the case, and the claimant was duly notified. Laird wrote to James Thompson, who was the master of Friends' Latin School in Philadelphia, to employ counsel to defend his claim to the services of George. At the time appointed, Edward Tilghman attended as counsel for Laird, and James Thompson also was present. Thompson was not a professor with Friends, but he did not appear to be a strenuous advocate for slavery, and was evidently embarrassed and ashamed of the business he had undertaken. I attended as George's friend, without an attorney. Thompson appealed to George, and told him, that he must know that his master was an honorable man, and would not take any undue advantage of him, and proposed that he should return home and let his case be tried at Carlisle; but George objected to this, saying, that his master was one of the Judges of the Court that must try him, and of course he would be judging in his own case. He was informed that Judge Laird could not sit on his case. In reply, he shrewdly remarked, that what had been said of his master was true: "He is an honorable man, and has great influence among the people; and although he may not sit as a Judge, his colleagues will and his influence is such that I would think myself as safe under his adjudication, as I would under that of his associates. I would therefore much rather be tried where I am. I have no wish to go to Carlisle."

After the case had been fully opened, Edward Tilghman admitted that George was free, and the Chief Justice discharged him accordingly.

George continues to reside in Philadelphia and conducts discreetly. I frequently see him when I go there, and he always looks respectable. Both master and servant mutually gave each other a good character.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1841.



INDEPENDENCE DAY.

The noisy Fourth comes round again, proclaiming by the blaze of fire-works, the roar of cannon, and the ringing of bells, that our fathers, half a century ago, trampled on tyranny and announced the equal rights of all mankind. It was a noble principle on which their resistance was based, and we do well to cherish it in our hearts. Alas, that with the fair record they should have transmitted to us an inheritance of compromise and shame! Alas, that there should be those in our midst, to whom all this jubilee of freedom sounds like bitter mockery; to whom our boasts of equality are part of a vile game of national hypocrisy, with which we first deceive ourselves, and then try to deceive the world!

And have fifty years of evasion, concealment, and false pretence, left our country as sound in moral health, as when it first took rank among the nations? No, it could not be. To be false in one thing, is the way to be corrupt in all. Neither individuals or nations can *assume* with safety. They cannot profess a standard higher than their practice, without eventually becoming worse than those whose standard of right is much lower. This is the chief reason why Northerners become more severe slave-masters than Southerners. That they are accustomed to the activity of free labor, and therefore naturally impatient of the slothfulness of the slave, is one cause; but this is of less significance than the fact that, in becoming slave-holders, they smother their consciences, and violate the moral convictions that have grown up with them from childhood; but while they lower their practice, they do not lower their professions; and becoming first hypocrites, they easily become tyrants and profligates. This is the reason why slavery assumes a worse form under free governments, than under despotisms.—Oh, that men would learn the meanness and danger of shams. We began our existence as a republic with a sham. We dared not resist the slaveholder's noisy claims at the outset, and yet, from pride of character, we dared not write Slavery on our Constitution. The compromise between high profession and base practice showed itself in a phrase as indirect as our national principles, and as awkward as our boastings: "*Those bound to servitude for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.*" Did ever a guilty consciousness more obviously make use of language "to *conceal* its thoughts?" Who does not see in this public sham the prophecy and the pledge of future degeneracy? How much public corruption and private vice—how much of treaty-breaking, speculating, swindling, blood-hound wars, and office-seeking, may be traced to this first great and glaring departure from truth? Had we been sincerely republicans, in our practice as well as our principles, would not our national jubilee be sacred in the eyes of the people, instead of degenerating into a miserable masquerade of false professions, and excessive boasting—a satur-nalia of debauchery and rum?

Those who do not believe in the eternal sacredness of truth, will not perceive the deadly peril of violating it, in act or word; and therefore they will not admit that as a nation we shall end with being corrupt, because we began with being false; that principles once desecrated to dishonest purposes, are then dimly perceived, and finally lost sight of altogether.

"Cast forth thy act, thy word, into the ever-living, ever-working universe; it is a seed-grain that cannot die; unnoticed to-day, it will be found flourishing as a banyan grove (perhaps, alas, as a hemlock forest) after a thousand years."

HAYTI.

We are rejoiced to learn, by private letters from this interesting island, that the cause of human freedom still has warm friends there, as might be expected from a people who had achieved for themselves so glorious a deliverance. The knowledge of their sympathy in our moral struggle for the emancipation of the American slave encourages and cheers our hearts. We trust the Anti-Slavery Societies there will not fail to let us hear from them, as opportunity may offer.

The following extract is in a recent letter from our beloved and respected friends Henry G. and Maria W. Chapman:—

"At a meeting last night, after having been assured by us of the interest felt in Hayti, as a part and parcel of the great demonstration of absolute Human Brotherhood, which this age seems destined to work out, to the shame of petty nationality, partial humanity, and narrow notions of caste and color, they passed a vote of thinks for such interest and sympathy, which seemed so heartfelt, that it is with very great pleasure we communicate it.—The remembrance of C. C. Burleigh is yet warm in the hearts of the American emigrants, who were much aroused by his eloquence and feeling. They complain that they have never heard from him, as they hoped and expected to have done."

From the letter above referred to, we learn that our friends may be expected to arrive in Boston very soon.—Mr. Chapman's health, which was the object of their voyage, is believed to be very considerably benefitted.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

Extract of a letter from Edmund Quincy to the Editor of the Standard.

"I was glad to see your review of the The Hour and the Man. It was due to Harriet Martineau. What a man was Toussaint! He was my hero, in the fighting and governing line, before I read the Hour and the Man, which does not exaggerate his character in the least, as I have gathered it. He surpassed Washington in civil and military genius, and certainly was not surpassed by him in disinterestedness and magnanimity; and he was not a slaveholder fighting for his own rights, but a consistent champion of liberty. As to the vulgar ruffian who murdered him, whose carcase they have brought across the ocean to rot in Paris, as if to justify the contempt he felt for human nature during his life, why, *he* is not worthy to be named in the same century with the First of the Blacks. I believe he will be regarged by posterity as the Man of his Age; in the class, that is to say, of those who trusted in brute force, for the attainment and security of rights."

ESCAPE OF A SLAVE.

A gentleman from Savannah, ignorant of the repeal of the Nine Months Law, lately arrived in this city with a female slave. The woman, being informed, by a colored acquaintance, that she could legally take her freedom, asked leave to go to meeting on Sunday. This being refused, she last week privately made her escape, and took refuge with colored people in Thomas street. The master having discovered her retreat, sent a constable to sieze her; but the officer was immediately surrounded by a crowd of colored women, who beat him in a most unmerciful manner, and compelled him to run. He was followed by the angry multitude, which increased to several hundreds. In the meantime, the slave made her escape, and is now safe beyond the danger of kidnappers. The constable is not dangerously wounded, though very severely handled.

We admire the sympathy evinced by the colored people, nor can we wonder at the fiery indignation excited in this oppressed class by such incidents of high-handed tyranny; but we wish they had trusted to the *laws* of New-York, which are now carefully framed to protect fugitives from injustice. Our colored friends probably would have trusted to the law, had they not in past years seen such cruel violation of rights under the old system, and had they not been harrassed with an uncertainty whether the case of this slave would come under the new law.

THE VOICE OF ANOTHER GOVERNOR!

Surely the North is taking her freedom! Why don't Slavery advertise the runaway North, put her in prison, and sell her for the jail-fees? It is time to wake from her supineness: it will soon be too late.

Governor Ellsworth, in his Annual Message to the Legislature of Connecticut, says:—

"The southern politician is mistaken in the cardinal principle of his theory; 'that duty on imports, is a duty on exports.' It is a tax chiefly on consumption; to some extent on foreign capital and labor. If indeed it be true, that a duty on imports is a tax on *consumption*, then the consumer is most affected by the tariff, and not the southern planter. The South, in proportion to its population, consumes less, very much less, than the North, or the States of free labor, both on account of climate, and the character of their laboring people.

When the compromise act, so called, was passed, I well recollect that gentlemen from the planting States asserted on the floor of Congress, that in 1842, when the act would take full effect, we should see the planting States had been paying well nigh the whole of the national revenue, as they said, by the artful and disguised operation of duties on imports. The time has nearly arrived, but the discovery has not been made, while in the mean time both the North and the South have been greatly impoverished.

The policy of a protective tariff is so much affected by considerations, growing out of another interest, that I trust I shall not be accused of asperity towards the South, or of officious interference in their concerns, by expressing the opinion that *free labor throughout this nation, and especially the manufacturing portions of it, is interested in the numerous and powerful influences of slavery.* But that I may not be misapprehended, let me observe, that in the government, we should not depart from the Constitution of the United States, the supreme political law of the land, which we have sworn anew, this day, to observe and maintain. I would give to this bond of our glorious Union a hearty and vigorous support, in its several provisions, as the wisest and best compact which could at that time, or could now, be obtained. *But I feel no obligation to proceed at all beyond the Constitution, to foster or perpetuate a system of slavery.* I would in this matter observe good faith towards sister States, because I hold faith between States as inviolable as between man and man; while *beyond this, concessions to slavery will not readily be made by those who look on it as a great wrong and a ruinous institution.* I have said that labor is affected generally by slavery. This is produced chiefly by the national policy and public measures to which it gives rise. It may be observed further, that few improvements by means of machinery and water power can be introduced into those regions where labor finds its chief employment in raising cotton, tobacco, and sugar; nor in time to come can slave labor derive much aid from those inventions which give immense facilities to free labor, and multiply its power beyond computation.

Of the character and wants of free labor, and especially the policy which fosters manufactures, navigation, and the fisheries, the planter has necessarily but little knowledge, and with its peculiarities, little sympathy.—Of this, however, we do not complain. Perhaps our views are erroneous. We wish only to say, that where slavery bears upon general interests, as in national affairs, we may with propriety speak of its tendency, and firmly maintain our rights against its power."

TEXAS.

If the following statements are made sincerely, there is reason to hope that, corrupt and selfish as were the motives of the English government in recognizing Texan independence, it may yet be over-ruled by Divine Providence for good. At all events, the English *people* are trusting much to the introduction of free laborers into Texas, and the moral influence of British settlers.—We should trust more to this, were it not that disease is contagious, while health is not.

"A Society or board has been formed in London for promoting the settlement of Texas, by emigrants from England, with an agency in Texas, 'established on anti-slavery principles.' The Secretary of the Texan Board, *in an official letter, addressed to the London Anti-Slavery Reporter*, says in the name of the Board, that 'one of their own members intends, in the course of a few months, to undertake such an agency upon himself, and they have no doubt that a gentleman will shortly be appointed at Galveston to take it in the mean while.' And on the question of the safety of emigration by persons of 'known anti-slavery principles,' we are told that 'the Texan Board have no hesitation in declaring their own belief, that a regard to the best interests of Texas would induce the government of that country to abolish slavery; that any British emigrants impressed with this belief, and expressing it in good faith and with good sense in Texas, would be well received; and that their lives and property would not be in danger.'

"I have looked in vain through the volume of the laws of Texas, published at Houston in 1838, for the law mentioned by Mr. Maillard as punishing the simplest anti-slavery movement with death. I cannot find any such law, and I cannot believe in its existence. The African slave trade has already been declared to be piracy, and convictions have taken place under that law. The introduction of slaves into Texas is not allowed, except from the United States, and that only on the most limited and partial scale Among the laws I find are some for the relief of free Africans, which would lead me to infer that the spirit of legislation towards the negro population is already liberal, and may be rendered more so.

"The Texan Board are not aware, and cannot believe that clergymen in Texas are prohibited from preaching the gospel to negroes. It is hardly possible to imagine a law which would be more injurious than this to Texan proprietors themselves; and its folly is such that the Board cannot believe in its existence.

"They have commenced operations upon their own principles, and are determined, if possible, to carry those principles into operation. *Dimidium facti qui cœpit habet.* They refer with pleasure to the example of Ohio, one of the neigboring States of the Union, in which slavery has been abolished; and to that of Kentucky, in which it would have been abolished, but for the indiscretion of the abolitionists. As, on the one hand, there is nothing more dangerous than zeal without prudence, so on the other, *Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia.*

"In the opinion of the Texan Board, it is scarcely possible to conceive conduct more unwise and impolitic than that of those Englishmen who would resist the independence of Texas. That Republic in the South is to England what Canada is in the North; indeed, it may be rendered far more valuable to us than Canada. By the law of nations, we had no better right to make the abolition of slavery in Texas a condition precedent to the recognition of its independence, than any State in Europe would have had to pass a non-intercourse act against us during the existence of slavery in our colonies. The origin of slavery in Texas cannot be justified, but it may be extenuated, from the overwhelming necessity of the circumstances under which it commenced. Mr. Maillard will find these circumstances fairly stated in the Colonial Magazine, for January, 1841. We lament its origin, and rejoice that there is no necessity for its continuance. Let us avail ourselves of this last circumstance to promote its abolition; at the same time let us act with good temper. I am happy to see that Mr. Maillard gives us credit for sincerity. How could it be otherwise? Our Chairman is a West India proprietor, who possesses two estates on which the slaves have been freed, and who would rejoice to see that done in Texas which has been done in Barbadoes. Can we offer a better proof of sincerity? He that is not with us is against us; and it would be a singular anomaly to find the anti-slavery society in the hands of our enemies.

"I remain, sir, your ob't humble serv't,

HENRY PRATER, Secretary
Texas and Land Emigration Board.

Exeter Hall, 15th Feb. 1841."

LITERARY.

STEPHENS, whose travels in the East have been so universally popular, has published two volumes, called "Central America, and its Magnificent Ruins"; illustrated by sixty-six engravings. According to his account the ruins of palaces, towers, altars, idols, monuments, obelisks, &c. of South America, cast those of Hindostan and Egypt into the shade; and open to the investigation of the world the history of a new race, whose existence has hitherto been unknown.

"THE LIFE OF JESUS," by Dr. Strauss, the famous German Infidel, has been translated in England; but not a bookseller could be found to undertake its publication.

"*A* WAS AN ARCHER," &c.—Our Boston correspondent, in another column, remarks upon the strength of the anti-slavery sentiment in England. We met, at the bookseller's, an amusing (yet mortifying) illustration of this fact,—and of the estimation in which the American character is likely to be held among the rising generation, abroad,—in an English book for little folks, entitled, "Prince Albert's Alphabet, for the Princess Royal."—On one page, under a print representing a very bilious-looking, "free and enlightened" sort of individual, amusing himself with puffing his cigar, and flogging a poor half-naked black, we find the following lines, given to impress upon the infant mind the use of the letter Y:

"*Y* stands for Yankee,—you've seen one, mayhap,—
A darnation 'cute and re-markable chap;
Who would not mind sporting in London, his figure,
If folks would allow him to 'larrup his nigger.'"

PARTY DEGENERACY.—The widow of a venerable revolutionary patriot in Vermont, writes as follows:

"I wrote the following notice of my lamented husband's death, paid the postage, and sent it for publication in the Vermont Patriot, printed at Montpelier. I will copy it, that you may see how careful some democratic editors are that nothing which has a bearing on the abolition cause should be inserted, lest it should impair the popularity of their cause:

'Died, in Hardwick, on the 28th of March, after an illness of ten days, JOHN FOX, a revolutionary pensioner, aged 85. Four years of the prime of his life were spent in defence of those rights, which, by the Declaration of Independence, were declared to be the inalienable rights of all. For the last three years of his life, he was no less engaged that those rights should be enjoyed by the three millions who are groaning under the most oppressive and cruel bondage, in our professed free country. Printers in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Ohio, are respectfully requested to copy the above.'

The editor published the notice of his death, carefully leaving out all which had a bearing on his abolition principles! What hypocrisy to profess to be a genuine democrat, and yet afraid to plead the cause of three millions who are enslaved in direct violation of those principles on which democracy is founded! But the time has arrived when the secrets of hearts are being revealed, and a separation will be made between those who serve God and those who serve him not."

JAMES C. JACKSON.—We take pleasure in announcing that this valuable, and not-to-be spared friend and agent, has so far recovered from a very severe attack of varioloid, as to be able to dig a little in his garden, at Peterboro. During this affliction, GERRIT SMITH, who loves to pour balm and oil into *all* human wounds, has proved himself a friend indeed; and thereby added another item to the long score of gratitude due to him from all who love the cause of Anti-Slavery.

SCRIPTURE MANUAL.—We have been requested to say, that Rev. C. Simmons's Scripture Manual, which we noticed May 27th, is for sale by the dozen at Dayton & Saxton's, corner of Fulton and Nassau streets; and also may be had at retail at the anti-slavery offices in this city.

Anti-Slavery Items.

The Richmond Whig, in noticing the refusal of Governor Seward to be a candidate for re-election says:

The whigs, as a party, are those who, at the North, take the justest views of the constitutional rights of the South; and many of them could not approve Governor Seward's treatment of the demand from this State (Virginia) of certain fugitives from justice."

This the Whig assigns as one of the probable reasons why the Governor has been induced to decline. Probably the whig politicians in Wall street are not very well satisfied with his course; but the great mass of the people, *without regard to party*, we are fully persuaded, regard his conduct with high approbation; and the whigs would seal their fate as a party by running a candidate of opposite opinions.

"*Incendiarism" at the South.*—The reader will find in the Pro-Slavery department a long article on the subject of slavery, from the Richmond Enquirer. The Richmond *Whig*, (an Administration paper, bitterly opposed to the Enquirer,) says:

"We have heard serious doubts expressed, whether the conductor of that libellous sheet (the Enquirer) might not be indicted under the statute which prohibits the circulation of incendiary publications; and it is very strongly conjectured, that the scandalous abolition paragraphs, which continually appear in the Enquirer, *have had a very serious effect upon our colored population.* What else but evil, for example—unmitigated evil—can spring from the article, [the one on our first page] in which extracts are culled from two infamous New-York sheets detailing such vile trumpery as the mission of Joseph Sturge, and the schemes of the English abolitionists? What but the most serious consequences are likely to arise from the publication of the letter of a Washington correspondent, in which *all Europe is represented as coming to the aid of the negro's cause?* Have not such publications the direct tendency to promote the schemes of the pseudo philanthropists, who, we are told, are rushing upon the South as the Goths and Vandals and Allemanni rushed upon the Roman Empire? *What portion of the Southern population is likely to be incited and encouraged by such exhilerating prospects?*"

The Gag—North and South.—The final vote in the House of Representatives, on the rule excluding anti-slavery petitions, is very differently understood by northern and southern whigs. The New-York American having spoken of it with disapprobation, a correspondent at Washington (probably a member of Congress,) wrote to the editor as follows:

"You say we have adopted the old rules, including the 21st, and you don't know on what calculation the whigs voted. You have misapprehended the result of the vote adopting the old rules. They were adopted with this restriction—'unless suspended by rules already adopted.' But the House had already adopted the rule, that, 'as to *all* petitions, memorials, &c., not relating to subjects referred to in the President's message—upon presentation, the question of reception should be laid upon the table.' *So you perceive the 21st rule is of no effect.* The rules, moreover, are only adopted for the extra session."

On the other hand, the Richmond Whig contends that the South has lost nothing, and that the vote is all that could be desired. The editor says:

"Mr. Stuart's resolution *yielded nothing, compromised nothing*, involving principle; but its salutary effect will be to quiet the raging billows of faction, and enable Congress to despatch the business of the country, for which they were convened."

The *Charleston Mercury* is indignant that so many northern men are placed on Congressional committees; and in reference to the appointment of Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, chairman of the committee on claims, the editor despairingly asks—"Suppose a negro killed in the service of the United States—what chance would such a claim have before such a committee?" Not a very good one, we guess.

Victory Certain.—In Mr. Wise's speech on the gag, as reported in the Richmond Enquirer, there is the following passage:

"Mr. Wise then appealed to his friends of the South on the necessity of resisting to the utmost every attempt at innovation on their rights. He referred to the career of Wilberforce on the slave trade, and also to the Catholic Emancipation act, to show the danger of a majority remaining inactive, and only opposing a dead inertia, while a minority, however small, were continually exerting themselves, and keeping up agitation, year after year, before the public mind. In such a state of things, THE MINORITY WERE SURE TO GAIN THEIR POINT; as certainly as that the solid marble would wear away by the constant running of the stream."

Slaveholders' Troubles.—A clergyman of Charleston, S. C. writes to the editor of the Mercury, complaining bitterly of being troubled with "incendiary publications." He says—"For the last three months I have received more articles of this description than for the three years previous." The American Intelligencer, published at Philadelphia, he describes as particularly obnoxious. The editor of the Mercury says—"The late administration, it will be remembered, took decided steps to prevent the mails being made the channel of abolition and incendiary agitation. There is now 'a change.' Abolition publications are accumulating upon us, and we hear repeated complaints of their receipt through the post office."

The Weapons of the South.—The Richmond Whig says, that "when southern rights are assailed *by force*, our people will not rely upon Congressional rules, but upon stout hearts and *weapons of steel.*" Perhaps so; but what if that crisis should never come, and the friends of freedom should continue, as heretofore, to wage a *moral* warfare against slavery? Will your "weapons of steel" answer the arguments by which your guilt and folly are demonstrated before the world? Will they protect you from your own consciences?

Prentice, of the Louisville (Ky.) Journal, publishes an account of the recent outrage in Boston under the following caption:—"*Extraordinary case of Kidnapping by the Abolitionists of Boston.*"

The Democrats (!) of Charleston S. C., have held a meeting, at which they denounced the final vote on the gag; declaring that it "inflicted a wound and an indignity upon the South."

Try it.—Politicians have tried various expedients for killing off abolition, and have often declared that the thing was done; but, some how or other, the monster won't stay killed. Col. Stone of the Commercial recommends a new specific. Hear him.

"If the Southern gentlemen would but listen to the dictates of common sense, for a moment, and allow those petitions to go quietly to a committee, of which Mr. Adams should be chairman, our word for it, he would produce a report against the petitions that would give the question its quietus for a quarter of a century."

Try it, we say. If abolition cannot survive the shock of "agitation" from any quarter, let it die.

More Kidnapping at Boston.—We find the following paragraph in the Savannah Georgian of the 19th inst., from which it appears that another fugitive from southern oppression was lately kidnapped in Boston harbor:

"The brig Woodstock, Capt. Davis arrived at this port (Savannah) yesterday *from Boston*, has on board a negro slave named Peter, the property of Jonathan Lucas, of Charleston, S. C., who was found secreted on board the *British* schooner Wilson, from Charleston, bound to Liverpool; who two days out, fell in with the brig Reporter, Captain Hawthorn from Havana bound to *Boston*, and put the said fugitive slave on board, with a request, that immediately on his arrival at that port (Boston) he would put him on board the first vessel bound to the South, *which he did by delivering him to Capt. Davis.*"

We hope the inhumanity of the Captain of the schooner Wilson, in thus consigning a human being to slavery, will be duly exposed in England. And how long will Boston suffer, in silence, such outrages to be perpetrated in her free waters?

Col. Stone, of the N. Y. Commercial, thus notices a transaction which has been already communicated to our readers.

"*Something Below Contempt.*—The committee of the Artists' Fund Society in Philadelphia have refused to allow Jocelyn's admirable Portrait of Cinque, the leader of the Amistad captives, to appear in the Society's exhibition the present year. If this is not being 'more nice than wise,' we know not what would constitute such an act of artistical refinement."

Those who remember the Colonel's unrelenting warfare against Prudence Crandall for admitting a colored girl into her school at Canterbury, (to say nothing of his other offences against liberty,) will be tempted to ask, "Is *he* also among the prophets?"

Now hear what James Watson Webb says on the same subject.

"'Something below contempt,' is the expression used by one of the evening papers in announcing that the Committee of the Philadelphia Artists' Fund Society have refused to allow Mr. Jocelyn's Portrait of *Cinque*, the negro leader of the murderers of the Amistad, to appear in the society's exhibition of the present year. Now in our opinion there is nothing contemptible in this act of the Artists. They did quite right. There has been fuss enough made with this fellow and his associates. They have been carted about the country, and exhibited at two shillings admission, their gibberish copied into the newspapers, and their pictures exhibited at abolition shop windows, till most people, we believe, have become rather sick of such luxuries; and we don't think the Artists' friends would have been very materially increased, or their respectability particularly enhanced by hanging up this specimen of lamp-black in their hall."

New-Hampshire.—At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, it was voted,

To elect N. P. Rogers Editor of the Herald of Freedom the ensuing year. Mr. Rogers accepted the appointment, and proposed that no salary be voted him—and no debt incurred—but to rely for his support on the voluntary contributions of the friends of the anti-slavery cause—publishing quarterly in the Herald of Freedom the donations he might receive—which proposal the Board acquiesced in.

Voted, That the receipts of the Editor of the Herald over $500, be paid into the treasury of the society.

A Committee of Vigilance has been formed in Boston, composed of both white and colored people, "to protect colored people in the enjoyment of their constitutional and legal rights, by every legal, peaceful and Christian method."

The list of officers is as follows:—

Chairman.—Francis Jackson.
Secretary.—Charles T. Torrey.
Treasurer.—Joseph Southwick.
Executive Committee.—Daniel Mann, Benjamin Weeden, Curtis C. Nichols, Thomas Jinnings, Jr., Wm. C. Nell, J. P. Bishop, John Rogers, S. R. Alexander.

George Thompson is lending his powerful eloquence to the anti-bread-tax movement, which is now occasioning so much excitement in England.

Education in Cuba.—The Governor of Cuba, says the Evening Star, has ordered the immediate erection of Sunday Schools in Havana, where the children of *all* classes may be educated without expense. The law, it is said, is a liberal one, and accomplishes the object *completely.* Query—Are the *slaves* included in the phrase "all classes," or is that language used, after our republican fashion, as "a mere rhetorical flourish"?

New Coalition in prospect.—If rumor speaks correctly, the whigs are in a fair way to learn that the Southern portion of their party will be satisfied with nothing short of the entire subserviency of the whole body to their wishes. The Washington correspondent of the Evening Star says:—"I feel confident that a hope—whether well grounded, I cannot say—exists in the minds of the Calhoun faction, of forming a coalition with the Southern wing of the whig forces, and of becoming the controlling element of a re-organized administration party."—The character of Southern politicians, and their conduct heretofore, render such a coalition highly probable.

Lieut. Gov. Bradish.—A paper in Herkimer County having proposed the name of this individual as a suitable candidate to succeed Governor Seward, the Commercial Advertiser expresses its hearty concurrence, and says—"We are glad to see public opinion spontaneously taking that direction." Colonel Stone, we believe, was among those who were sorely displeased with the manly letter of Mr. Bradish to the abolitionists, soon after his first nomination to the office he now holds, and which cost him the loss of several hundred votes. It is not improbable, that that same letter, by rendering him more acceptable to the whig abolitionists, will be the very weight that shall turn the scale in favor of his nomination and election to the chief magistracy of the Empire State!

Sound Reasoning.—A correspondent of the Richmond Whig reasons soundly and forcibly on the consequences of conceding to abolitionists the right of petition. He says:

"The man who takes the ground of constitutional right in behalf of the abolitionists, presents an issue of momentous import to the South, which demands her prompt consideration; for, I repeat, in my opinion, *if that right be conceded, the abolition of slavery will be the ultimate effect of the concession.*" "If the right of petition be a matter of substance, and of any value, it attaches to it the right to offer facts and arguments in support of the petition, by which to prove that the grievance complained of does really exist, and ought to be redressed; and imposes upon Congress the *duty* to hear and consider. The petition, then, must be received when presented, and reported upon, and *then the right to debate it is fully established.* When the right to petition is once conceded, and in that concession is involved the admission that slavery is a 'grievance,' does any man believe that the abolitionist and fanatical philanthropist will be content without a report? Now he clamors about 'a gag,' because you refuse to receive his petition; then he will complain, and with much more reason, of the gag which denies him the right of a report upon a constitutional petition; and the next step will be *a standing committee on abolition!*"

The Virginian is quite right. The abolitionists will not be satisfied with the mere reception of their petitions, nor with a report adverse to their prayer. They will continue to agitate the question, in Congress and elsewhere, until their object is effected. Mr. Wise has already predicted the result, in the declaration that a persevering minority is sure to carry its point.

Rev. E. Weed and T. D. Weld will address the Essex County (N. J.) Anti-Slavery Society at Newark, on Monday next, in the Free Church.

Effects of Slavery in Virginia.—It is only a few years since old Virginia was ahead of every other State in the Union, in point of numbers. Now she has fallen in the rear of three other States, viz: New-York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The last of these was an entire wilderness less than fifty years ago. By the late census, it appears that Virginia has been at nearly a dead stand for the last ten years, having increased only 20,038 since 1830. Her entire population now amounts to 1,231,441. Of these 447,207 are slaves, and the number shows a decrease in her colored population of 22,517 since 1830.—This last diminution is mainly owing to the brisk slave-trade she has carried on to the south west. The federal population of Virginia is therefore but 1,042,560. If sixty thousand be fixed as the next ratio of representation in Congress, Virgina will lose no less than four members.

The Vicksburgh Sentinel states that Mr. Porterfield of that city detected a couple of negroes on board a steamboat a few days ago making their escape to Ohio in a singular manner. They were dressed in Indian costume, with the mane of a horse as a wig on their heads to hide their wooly locks, with their faces painted. In this disguise they had travelled from Tennessee, fifty miles east of Jackson, where their master lives. They came from Jackson on the cars, and made for the landing, and took passage for Cincinnati, jabbering broken English and pretended Cherokee. Mr. Porterfield looked at and suspected them, and walked up to the largest, who was a man, (the other was a woman dressed like a man) and began to examine his hair. The Indian objected, but Porterfield persisted, and pulled off the false scalp, leaving the African head exposed. Both were taken into custody and lodged in jail. They had two pistols well loaded, and knives, and plenty of ammunition. They said that they had been instructed as to their mode of escape by abolitionists in Tennessee.

M. Guizot, who united in the public proceedings at the close of the London Anti-Slavery Convention, is now a leading member of the French Cabinet. In a debate that took place early in March, in the Chamber of Deputies, he made a firm protestation of his purpose to press on the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies of Guadaloupe and Martinique.

SMUGGLING OFF SLAVES.—There was quite an excitement a few days ago, in Apalachicola, in consequence of the attempt to smuggle away some four of five slaves belonging to the citizens of that place. The slaves were invited to get on board a certain vessel in the bay, where it was promised their passage to New-York should be paid by a certain white man. A free black, a steward or cook on board of a vessel in port, was the agent of communication. The plan was exposed by one of the slaves, a girl of twelve years of age, being carried by a lighter down the bay, to the wrong vessel. On applying on board for passage, under the instructions given, the Captain presumed something to be wrong, and had her sent back to her owners in town. Before the affair could be investigated, the other vessel, with the abolitionists on board, was off under a stiff breeze for New-York.—*N. York Sun.*

At the late New-England A. S. Convention, a committee of twelve was appointed to call a World's Convention to consider the subject of Human Rights in all its bearings—to define them—and to collect facts relative to the present condition of mankind in respect to them—and to consider the causes of their violation, and the means of their restoration.

Six negroes, advertised in the Baltimore papers on Monday as having escaped from their owner in that city on Saturday last, were arrested on Sunday evening, near the Black Horse Tavern, in Marshall's district, Hartford county, making their way with due speed and in high glee towards the Pennsylvania line.

Honor to whom Honor.—A little incident occurred the other day at the new court-house, which is worth relating.

Mr. D. a colored man, came to the door of the United States District court-room, and expressed to the constable who kept the door a desire to go in and witness with others the trial of Dr. Braddee for mail robbery. The constable in the exercise of his "little brief authority" refused to admit him. After some remarks between them, Mr. D. went to the marshal and complained of the constable; whereupon he immediately sent for him, and severely reprimanded him for his conduct, directed him to open the door to *all* men without distinction of color, intimating at the same time that if he did not, his place would be supplied by a more competent man.

Ever since, colored men have been constantly mixing in the crowd of spectators without molestation, or insult.—*Pittsburgh Christian Witness.*

Torture in Louisiana.—At the trial of the St. Louis murderers, one of the witnesses introduced was a negro slave named Edmund. He was arrested in New Orleans a short time since upon a charge of larceny. While in prison a white man accused him of having passed, in that place, under the name of Jacob Brown, and of being the Brown, connected with this murder. He was taken into a room, threatened, whipped, &c., and to escape further punishment, confessed to have participated in it. Two public officers took charge of him and brought him up. Upon being sworn, he denied all knowledge of the affair, and of the parties to it, and was able to show in Court, by Captain Stiles, of the steamboat Gov. Roman, that he was on board that boat, somewhere between New Orleans and Natchez, on the night of 17th of April. This shows how seldom violence extorts the truth. Threatened, whipped, &c.! Made to confess by torture! Do the laws of Louisiana tolerate such enormities?—*N. Y. Com. Advertiser.*

Another Important Judicial Decision.—Last week, in the Court of Common Pleas for Clermont county, the case of Debruler against Simmons came on for trial.—Simmons had been sued before Justice Wyatt, of Munroe township, for employing a colored man to labor for him, in violation of the statute of 1807, and judgment had been given against him, from which he appealed.—On the trial before the Court of Common Pleas, the employment of the colored man was not denied. Judge Fishback, however, decided, that the statute was in derogation of right, and that every presumption and inference that should govern a Court, must be in favor of liberty; that the party complaining must not only produce *positive* law, abridging such liberty, but prove by clear and indisputable testimony, such facts as would bring the defendant certainly within such law. This not having been done, the Court over-ruled the testimony, and the Jury found for the defendant.—*Philanthropist.*

Worthy of Notice.—Of 21 committees appointed by the Senate of the United States, the chairmen of eleven are supplied by the slave States. In both houses, the greatest number of important committees are headed by slaveholders. The military departments, as we have often remarked, are chiefly controlled by them. Thus, while a Tennesseean stands at the head of the war department, and a North Carolinian is secretary of the navy; in both houses of Congress the Chairmen of the several committees on naval and military affairs, are slaveholders. The important committee of nine on the currency, in the House, contains but two members from free States. Are these peculiar apportionments accidental? They occur too often to warrant such a supposition. Let it be recollected that the freemen of the free States are twice as many as those of the slave States. How happens it then, that in the distribution of business in Congress, slaveholders stand so prominent? Because the Speakers of both houses have for a long time been slaveholders.—Such is not the case now in the Senate, but then, the chairmen of its committees this session were balloted for, not appointed by the chair.

These are trifles, to be sure, but they point to the Power that rules us.—*Philanthropist.*

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Congress.

June 21st.

Mr. ADAMS came into the House with a *band-box* full of abolition petitions, which he presented, one by one, briefly reciting the contents. Some he presented asking the House to rescind the 21st rule, and he added, I hope they will rescind it—others which he offered prayed to be released from military duty in case of the insurrection of slaves, or a servile war. None of these petitions, under the rule, as construed by the Speaker, were received, but were returned to Mr. Adams.

The House was called for resolutions. Many were adopted on different subjects.

Consul Trist.

A resolution calling for any further information in possession of the Government in relation to the seizure of American vessels by British cruisers on the high seas, was taken up, and Mr. Adams offered an amendment, calling for the reason for the delay of the action of the Government in relation to Mr. Trist, Consul at Havana.

Mr. ADAMS said, he understood that Mr. Alexander Everett, the agent who was sent to Havana to inquire into the allegations against Mr. Trist, had made a report unfavorable to that functionary; but still the Government had done nothing on the subject.

Mr. DAWSON said, time was allowed Mr. Trist to make his answer to Mr. Everett's report, and the new administration had not yet had time to turn their attention to the matter.

Mr. ADAMS said he had no complaint against the present administration at all. He believed the real fact had been that Mr. Trist, knowing pretty distinctly what was coming, took advantage of the temporary delay, and had gone off to Havana, knowing what facts would be established against him; and that, though the administration had communicated pretty intelligibly to him that he would be removed, yet, for the reasons alluded to by the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Dawson,) they had delayed coming to any conclusion as to the charges against him. He was now there, doing a great deal of mischief. If he was deranged, his derangement was of a very peculiar character, and in which the country had an important interest. It was high time he should be recalled, and that the House should institute such a course of measures as they might think the case might require.

Mr. GILMER said he had been unable to learn, and was at a loss to conceive, what could be the object of the gentleman from Massachusetts in proposing the present call, unless he intended to prefer other charges against Mr. Trist. Those heretofore preferred have, as Mr. G. understood, been already investigated, and the Consul been honorably acquitted.

Mr. TOLAND, chairman of the Committee on Commerce, asked permissson of the gentleman from Virginia to set him right as to the facts of the case. The Consul had not been charged before the Committee at the last session, with any thing in reference to the subject of slavery, but only in reference to his conduct toward Capt. Wendell and the crew of another American vessel, and that he had compelled American seamen, when on shore, to board with a particular individual. This last charge was referred to at so late an hour as to render it impossible for the Committee to examine it, and they had so reported to the House, at the same time expressing the opinion that it should be examined by the Executive.—In regard to the other charges, the Committee, after a full examination of the documents before them, came to the conclusion that the Consul had not been guilty of any thing impeaching his character for integrity and honor, and that no action of the House was demanded. They at the same time expressed the opinion that these charges should be fully examined by the Executive. A similar result was arrived at by the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, to whom these charges had been referred.

Mr. T. said he made these remarks to show that the information asked for by the gentleman from Massachusetts had not been communicated to the House, and was not at all a subject of inquiry before the Committee on Commerce. He thought the call a perfectly proper one.

Mr. GILMER returned his thanks to Mr. T. for the explanation he had made. Mr. G. was not opposed to the call proposed; on the contrary, it would be gratifying to him, as it would be just to an absent citizen of the United States engaged in the service of his country abroad, that all information in possession of the Government throwing light on the subject, should be communicated to the House. He had been somewhat at a loss to conjecture whether any new complaints against Consul Trist had proceeded from dissatisfaction at his official conduct, or had been preferred merely for a desire to appease the appetite of greedy office-seekers, who were anxious to step into the Consul's slippers as soon as they should become vacant. He trusted the result of any further investigation would be the honorable acquittal of that gentleman from all the charges, of every kind, that had been, or that might hereafter be, brought forward against him.

And the question being taken on the amendment of Mr. Adams, it was agreed to.

And the resolution, as amended, was adopted.

Mr. ADAMS asked to be excused from serving on the Committee on Indian Affairs; the motion was put and carried in the affirmative.

Mr. PICKENS introduced the Hon. DAVID LEVY, delegate elect from the Territory of Florida, and moved that he be sworn.

Mr. MORGAN rose and objected. He had papers in in his possession, he said, from citizens of Florida, stating facts, (and enclosing affidavits,) amongst others, that Mr. Levy was not a citizen of the United States; for that reason, Mr. M. said he objected to his being sworn.

[Cries of "let him be sworn; let him be sworn."]

Mr. MORGAN. By what authority is he to be sworn?

The Speaker said he would look into the gentleman's papers.

After a few moments, Mr. Levy was qualified and took his seat.

[It will be recollected that the election of the Hon. David Levy was protested against by citizens of Florida. *Rumor* says that Mr. Levy's mother was a mulatto, and that this fact occasioned the protest.]

The New-York Journal of Commerce says—"If the people would come to the determination to elect no man who makes more than ten speeches in a session, Congress would be whist enough. But then we should perhaps be worse off than ever; for if Congress should really set themselves to making laws for six months, we should hardly be able to get about the streets, so many embarrassments would they put in our way. So, upon mature consideration, we have no particular advice to give in the case, but must hope that the sun of July will scorch the members to their duty."

General Items.

Decision of the Supreme Court in the York Presbyterian Case.—English Presbyterian Congregation vs. James Johnson, et al.—This was an action of ejectment brought to try the title to certain property in York, under the following facts: The property was granted by the Penns in 1785, for the use of the English Presbyterians, in and near the town of York. In 1762 and since, the Congregation there was connected with the Donnegal Presbytery, and that was afterwards merged in the Carlisle Presbytery. A portion of the Congregation, in October, 1838, seceded from the Carlisle Presbytery, denied their jurisdiction, and refused to submit to them. These were known by the name of New School party. The other portion of the Congregation, known as the Old School, adhered to the Carlisle Presbytery, and are still in connection. The latter being ousted of the property, brought suit, and upon a decision in the Court below against them, carried it up to the Supreme Court by writ of error. The Supreme Court being divided three to two, Judge Gibson declared the opinion affirming the decision of the Court below, *on the ground that the New School were the majority*—Judges Huston and Kennedy dissenting.

Important Discovery.—A Jamaica paper says, that an ingenious physician and naturalist in this island, has discovered the practicability of using musquitoes as a substitute for the leech, fifty of the large speckled kind being found equivalent to one leech; of the smaller breed, from sixty-five to seventy being required. The greater irritation produced by the new application has also been found advantageous.

Indian Corn.—According to the census returns, the annual crop of Indian Corn of North Carolina is *thirty-four millions of bushels.* In the production of this important item, therefore, North Carolina stands second on the list—the annual crop of Tennessee, which is the largest producer, being upwards of forty-two millions of bushels.

The New-York Journal of Commerce says *one thousand three hundred and eighty-nine* steerage passengers have arrived at this port during the past two days.

A Caution to Boys.—At Philadelphia, on Tuesday, a lad named Thomas Batty undertook to strike a horse that was grazing on the common, when the horse kicked him on the forehead, inflicting a wound which caused his death before morning.

Progress of Newspapers.—In the State of Michigan, eighteen years ago, there was but one newspaper. Now there are thirty-five, two of which are published daily.—In 1839 the number of newspapers in the United States was stated as follows:—

New-England States	267
Middle	566
Southern	294
Western	428

Keep off the Steps.—A lad named Alfred Burton had one of his legs broken in Philadelphia on Monday by falling off the step of an omnibus on which he was riding.

A meeting has been called in Philadelphia relative to Capital Punishments, and responded to by about fifteen hundred citizens.

Private accounts from Paris contradict the statement in La Pressa newspaper, that the house of Laffite & Co. have withdrawn from the Texian loan, and on the contrary, affirm that they are proceeding with it, and are bound by special contract to do so.

A Mrs. Rickett, milliner, in Philadelphia, has been brought before the Police for cruelly beating and otherwise mal-treating an apprentice—a little girl about eleven years of age.

Novel mode of Lighting a City.—The Common Council of Cincinnati have passed an ordinance, that each licensed coffee house shall set up a lamp-post in front, and keep a lamp lighted on it at night. In order to accomplish the object, they license coffee-houses enough to light the city!

Mr. Secretary Bell, of the War Department, one of our Southern masters, holds out very little prospect of an end to the Florida war. Its termination seems to be far off in indefinite distance.

The exports of Cuba amounted in the year 1840 to almost twenty-six millions of dollars; being four millions and a half more than in 1839. The quantity of sugar exported was six times as large as the quantity of beet sugar grown in France during a similar period.

The Case of the Malek Adhel was decided at Baltimore on Thursday. Judge Heath, in his opinion, condemned the vessel as a pirate, for acts committed in reference to two of the vessels fallen in with by her—the British brig Albert, and a Portuguese brig. The judge acquitted the owners of all censure in the case. The cargo was not deemed to be liable, under the circumstances of the case, and was therefore acquitted. An appeal to the Circuit Court was entered by the counsel for the claimants.

Destructive Fire.—On Sunday morning the Rocky Glen Cotton Mill, at Fishkill, was consumed with all its machinery—nothing but the books and goods saved. Loss about $200,000; insurance in this and eastern cities $85,000. About three hundred operatives will be thrown out of employment, about seven-eights of whom are women.

Case of Poisoning.—A negro by the name of Wilkinson, an indented slave of Cyrus Edwards, Esq. of Alton, Illinois, was, on the 18th instant, committed to prison in that city, on a charge of poisoning the family of his master. Some two or three weeks ago, Mr. Edwards and every member of his family, immediately after eating supper, were seized with violent pains: and upon sending for a physician, it was discovered they had been poisoned, with, as the physician thought, arsenic. Wilkinson, who was cook, shortly afterwards came up, and said he had found a scorpion in the milk they had been using. The family all recovered, and nothing further transpired until a few days since, when the clerk of the drug store kept by Mr. Lake, in posting up the day book, discovered a charge against Mr. Edwards for some arsenic got by Wilkinson! This led to the arrest and immediate examination of Wilkinson, who, after being committed, partly confessed the horrid crime.

Life in Mobile.—A letter writer from Mobile, after giving an account of an attempt at robbery committed by one Robinson, says, "He is a desperate looking villain, and one who would rob a man of his life for a dollar.—We have many such rascals here, and it is dangerous to walk our streets after nightfall. I cannot think what our country is coming to. Villanies of every kind are being transacted. Theft, murder, swindling, and in fact rascality of every description, is the order of the day."

The estimated cost of the Extra Session of Congress is $407,666 60.

Mr. Packenham, the English Minister to Mexico, at a public dinner given to the President in the saloon of the Theatre, noticed that the French colors were placed to the right of the Mexican, while the English colors were at the left. He called upon the master of the ceremonies to have their position reversed. This being refused, he went with the Secretary of legation, to the third tier of boxes, tore the colors to shreds and scattered them over the assembly. The next morning, the master of ceremonies sent Mr. Packenham a challenge, which was refused.

It is reported that the Governor of Illinois has joined the Mormons.

We learn from the census returns of the marshal for the district of Illinois, that there are in the state 28,789 persons of twenty years old and upwards, out of a population of less than half a million, who can neither read nor write.

Robert F. Curry, the man whom Gov. Gilmer of Virginia refused to give up to the State of New-York, has been convicted of forgery at Ithica, and sentenced to the State Prison for five years.

By statistics given in the American Almanac, it appears that there are, at the present time, in Virginia, 30,000 *adult white persons, who can neither read nor write!*

Death in the Pulpit.—Rev. Henry Clarke Hubbard, died at South Kingston, (R. I.) on the 9th instant, in the 73d year of his age. Mr. H. was a clergyman for nearly forty years. On the day of his death he entered his pulpit as usual, and selected as his text the 6th verse of the 5th chapter of Matthew, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." After repeating his text he was seized with a fit and fell on the pulpit floor, and soon after was a corpse!

Durable Whitewash.—To make whitewash durable and prevent it from cracking, the water in which the lime is fixed should be well saturated with salt before the lime is put into it.

Strawberries are sold in the Philadelphia market for six and a quarter cents per quart.

Samuel Canby, Esq. of Woodside, near Wilmington, Del. has a short horned Durham cow, which yields on an average 253 quarts of milk weekly—an average of over 36 quarts per day—yielding over seventeen pounds of good butter.

Maple Sugar.—General Chancey Eggleston, of Auburn, Geauga Co. Ohio, has probably the largest Maple Sugar establishment in the country. He tapped 2700 trees this season. His apparatus is so extensive that he can manufacture 500 pounds per day. Some seasons he has made as much as 10,000. The quantity made by him in one season, three or four years ago, brought him twelve thousand dollars.

A preacher who recently died in the Red river country, is said by some of the papers, to leave the following singular effects:—A table, two collars, a bowie knife, a psalm book, a pack of cards somewhat used, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, nearly new, a pocket flask of "tickler," a collection of sacred music, a quarter nag, with saddle and bridle, a pair of pistols, and a copy of Hoyle's Games. How this "breaths of the sweet South."

Curious Plant.—The Charleston Courier says: "We have seen a curious parasitic plant, from Florida, resembling a pine apple in general appearance, and the palmetto somewhat in its leaves. It is called the "Air Plant," denoting its power of subsisting on air alone, without earth—it usually grows, however, against a wall, or the trunk or branch of a tree. Each plant contains more than a quart of water, imbibed from the atmosphere.

Twenty-one years ago, when the coal trade first commenced, only 365 tons were taken from the Lehigh mines to market: there are now mined more than one million of tons annually. About 800,000 tons are sold to other States, and 200,000 cosumed in Pennsylvania. In Great Britain about 30,000,000 tons are mined annually, of which only 612,245 are exported to foreign countries.

It is computed by the French astronomers that more than fifteen hundred fixed stars have disappeared within three centuries past. La Place says that one of these stars, situated in the northern hemisphere, gave the most indisputable evidence of having burned. It was so bright as to be visible to the naked eye at mid-day—"first of a dazzling white, then reddish yellow, and lastly of an ashy pale color." The conflagration lasted and was visible sixteen months, when the star forever disappeared.—*Free Trader.*

Agricultural Items.

To make Names grow in Fruit.—When peaches and nectarines are about half ripe, cover the side exposed to the sun with strips or specks of wax, in any desired shape or form, which hinders the sun from coloring the parts covered; and, when the fruit is ripe, and the wax removed, it will be found marked in the manner desired.

Cure for the Black Tongue.—A handful of fine salt rubbed upon the tongue of a horse that has the black tongue, will cure it, in at the most two applications.—It is infallible, and simple and cheap enough.

Good Medicine for Hogs.—When your hogs get sick, you know not of what, give them ears of corn, first dipped in tar, and then rolled in sulphur. It is ten to one but it arrests the disease.

It is said that two horses abreast, will plough with more ease a given quantity of land than three, when placed before each other.

Hen's eggs which are round are said to produce female chickens, and those which are long or pointed, to produce males.

The Western Farmer and Gardener states that tansey and wormwood planted in near contact with peach-trees, will protect them from the moth-like worm.

Fruit and Fruit Trees.—Two of the best farmers within the range of our knowledge, one a resident of Coos County, and the other of Orange County, Vt., have communicated to us the manner in which they secure good fruit. It is this: They dig at some distance from the body of a favorite tree, until they find a root, which they cut off. The part disjointed from the tree is then turned up so as to appear above the ground. It sends forth shoots the first season, and bears in a few years fruit precisely like that upon the parent tree. Let those whose trees are decaying, or who wish to increase good varieties, try this experiment—it is but an hour's work.—*N. H. Whig and Ægis.*

When butter is to be made, if a little old butter be put into the cream, the butter will come from much less churning. When soap is put into the lye and grease, the soap will be made with much less boiling.—*Farmer and Gardener.*

THE ONE DOLLAR PLEDGE.

The following was passed unanimously at the late anniversary:

Resolved, That every friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society be earnestly recommended to pay into the Treasury of the Society, during the present year, a sum not less than ONE DOLLAR; that every auxiliary Society be advised to urge this recommendation upon the friends of the cause in its vicinity; and that the Executive Committee be requested to publish weekly in the Standard an account of the moneys that may be received into the treasury under this proposition.

In compliance with this resolution, we shall set apart a corner of the paper for the acknowledgment of these ONE DOLLAR RECEIPTS, distinct from the Treasurer's usual account. We trust our friends were in earnest, when they voted for this resolution, and that they will not forget the obligation it imposes upon them. Those who give larger sums will still do well to add this small donation to the list. It is very important that the Society should have some *certain* data to go upon, as a basis for pecuniary arrangements.

PAYMENT RECEIVED.

Amount	previously acknowledged,	$19 00
No. 20.	G. W. Benson, Brooklyn, Ct.	1 00
21.	John Ketcham, Jericho, L. I.	1 00
22.	Amasa Worthington, Bucks Co. Pa.	1 00
23.	Edward M. Davis, Philadelphia,	1 00
24.	Joseph Southwick, Boston,	1 00
25.	Abby Southwick, "	1 00
26.	Sarah H. Southwick, "	1 00
27.	Thankful Southwick, "	1 00
28.	Anna R. Southwick, "	1 00
29.	Elisha Carpenter, New-York,	1 00
30.	"Anti-Flattery," "	1 00
31.	Francis Jackson, Boston,	1 00
32.	Eliza Jackson, "	1 00
33.	James Jackson, "	1 00
34.	Harriet B. Jackson, "	1 00
35.	Cha's D. Merriam, "	1 00
36.	Eliza F. Merriam, "	1 00
37.	Eliza F. Merriam, Jr. "	1 00
38.	Francis J. Merriam, "	1 00
39.	Ruth Copeland, "	1 00

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

OBITUARY.

Died, at his residence, in Peru, Clinton county, New-York, on the 23d day of 5th month, 1841, of a lingering paralytic affection, JOHN H. KEESE. He was a member of the Society of Friends, a true Republican and a friend of his race. "His country was the world, his countrymen all mankind." He was an able and efficient advocate for the rights of all men, undistinguished by caste, color or sex; a fearless and intrepid defender of unshackled freedom in Church and in State, a fast friend of Temperance, an indefatigable laborer in the cause of Peace, a zealous contender for truth and promoter of love. Being himself freed from the bonds of tradition and superstition, his reason unobstructed by the scales of bigotry and intolerance, and his sensibilities awakened and corrected by the power of Truth, he was an acute discriminator between good and evil,—right and wrong,—and was ever willing to encourage the one, and never afraid to rebuke the other, whether exhibited in the grand blasphemies of the nation by the support of slavery, its maintenance of war, or its flagrant abuse and wanton expulsion of the native American.

In the social and family circle he was ever a frank and steadfast friend, a kind husband, a watchful and affectionate parent.

JOHN H. KEESE was eminently a laboring man. He had filled, with great acceptance, the most important offices in Town and County Anti-Slavery Societies, of which he was a member, and exhibited, in every vicissitude of his dearly cherished cause, a patient, persevering and self-sacrifising spirit.

During several of the riper years of his life, he resided in the county of Franklin, in this State, where he was greatly instrumental in disseminating information on the subject of Slavery, and circulating petitions to Congress for its abolition, even at a period anterior to the organization of any Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States, with perhaps the exception of that formed for New-England in 1832.

In 1835,—a year of stirring and momentous events to our cause,—he obtained a hearing before a grand Jury of the county of Franklin on the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and by dint of facts and arguments, procured, over the signatures of its Foreman and Secretary, a "TRUE BILL," in which that mother of abominations, was denounced as unjust to the slave, inexpedient for the master, and derogatory to the national character.

It was from the midst of works like these, that our brother was called to his everlasting reward. His loss will be severely felt by the friends of the various moral enterprises of the day, as well as by his bereaved family and a large circle of mourning relations.

☞ Will the "Liberator" and "Friend of Man" please copy?

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Poetry.

HAIL COLUMBIA!

When Dr. MADDEN was in the United States, he was invited to attend a Colonization dinner at Baltimore, and declined. Being pressed to state his objections, he replied, that, "in the first place, he considered the scheme of that Society impracticable; and in the second, that it originated with men who knew that it was so." He remained at his hotel, and wrote the following song for the occasion. We find it in the *English* edition of his "Twelve Months Residence in the West Indies." Carey and Lea of Philadelphia published an American edition, in which all allusions to slavery were carefully expurgated. "The North has nothing to do with slavery!"

TUNE—*Hail Columbia.*

Hail! hail! Columbia, happy land!
The native land of Liberty!
The stranger's home from every strand
Where man is held in slavery!

Well may thy sons, Columbia, boast
Their glorious charter, and proclaim
That Nature's law to all is just,
The equal rights of all the same.

Columbia's code shares these with all—
It matters not for sect or clime:
Complexion, true, may sanction thrall,
But *color*, then supposes crime.

O hail, Columbia! happy land!
The cradle-land of Liberty!
Where none but negroes bear the brand,
Or feel the lash of slavery.

But negro limbs were made for chains,—
Their skin denotes that Nature marred
The outcasts thus to till our plains,
And toil for life without reward.

Then let our glorious anthem peal!
And drown "*Brittannia rules the waves*"!
Strike up the song that men can feel—
"*Columbia rules two million slaves!*"

Long live the bard who calls the South
"The land of Liberty!" sweet word!
Long may it be in every mouth!
And soon in every heart be stored.

God save the rights of all our race!
God speed the car of Liberty!
And trample down Oppression base,
In every guise of tyranny!

INDEPENDENCE DAY.

AIR—*Auld Lang Syne.*

PART I.

I.

The bells are ringing merrily,
And loud the cannon loudly roar,
And thunder-shouts for liberty
Are heard from shore to shore;
And countless banners to the breeze
Their "stars and stripes" display:—
What call for sights and sounds like these?
'Tis Independence day!

II.

Our fathers spurned the British yoke,
Determined to be free;
And full of might they rose and broke
The chains of tyranny!
O! long they toiled with zeal unfeigned,
And kept their foes at bay,
Till by their valorous deeds they gained
Our Independence day.

III.

They fought not for themselves alone,
But for THE RIGHTS OF ALL,
Of every caste, complexion, zone,
On this terrestrial ball:
To God they made their high appeal,
In hope, not in dismay;
For well they trusted He would seal
Their Independence day!

IV.

Their creed how just—their creed how grand!
"ALL MEN ARE EQUAL BORN!"
Let those who cannot understand
This truth, be laughed to scorn!
Cheers for the land in which we live,
The free, the fair, the gay!
And hearty thanks to Heaven we'll give,
For Independence day!

PART II.

I.

O God! what mockery is this!
Our land, how lost to shame!
Well may all Europe jeer and hiss
At mention of her name!
For, while she boasts of liberty,
'Neath SLAVERY'S iron sway
Three millions of her people lie,
On Independence day!

II.

She may not, must not, thus rejoice,
Nor of her triumphs tell:
Hushed be the cannon's thundering voice,
And muffled every bell!
Dissolved in tears, prone in the dust,
For mercy let her pray,
That judgments on her may not burst
On Independence day!

III.

Lo! where her starry banner waves,
In many a graceful fold—
There toil, and groan, and bleed her slaves,
And men, like brutes, are sold!
Her hands are red with crimson stains,
And bloody is her way;
She wields the lash, she forges chains,
On Independence day!

IV.

Friends of your country—of your race—
Of freedom—and of GOD!
Combine oppression to efface,
And break the tyrant's rod:
All traces of injustice sweep
By moral power away;
Then a glorious jubilee we'll keep
On INDEPENDENCE day!

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

FOURTH OF JULY ODE.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Our fathers fought for Liberty,
They struggled long and well,
History of their deeds can tell,—
But did they leave us free?

Are we free from vanity,
Free from pride, and free from self,
Free from love of power and pelf,
From every thing that's beggarly?

Are we free from stubborn will,
From low hate and malice small,
From opinion's tyrant thrall?
Are none of us our own slaves still?

Are we free to speak our thought,
To be happy and be poor,
Free to enter Heaven's door,
To live and labor as we ought?

Are we then made free at last
From the fear of what men say,
Free to reverence To-day,
Free from the slavery of the Past?

Our fathers fought for Liberty,
They struggled long and well,
History of their deeds can tell,—
But *ourselves* must set us free.

Miscellany.

JONATHAN JEFFERSON WHITLAW:

OR

LIFE IN THE SOUTH-WEST.

CHAPTER VII.

The following eight years of the life of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw must be passed over very rapidly by his historian. Sometimes during this interval he was at school, but oftener constrained by his still prosperous father to take a spell of labor with him at Mount Etna. The youth, however, learned to read, to write, and to cast up an account; and moreover, he had been discovered at the seminary by his old steamboat acquaintance, Colonel Dart, who proved to be, as he had himself stated, a personage every way able to assist the youth in his meritorious wish of advancing his fortune.

Colonel Dart possessed the largest estate, and was the largest slaveholder in the neighborhood of Natchez. As he was accounted a man of vast wealth, it must be presumed that his affairs were well managed, his overseers faithful and careful of his interest, and the numerous gangs of negroes who worked his plantations as well ordered as they were profitable. But though all this might be, and perhaps was the case, it is nevertheless a certain fact, that Col. Dart, though a bachelor and member of Congress to boot, did not always repose upon roses. Either from natural disposition, or from having some secret cause of doubt and dread upon his mind, this gentleman passed his life in a state of gnawing anxiety which the worst flogged negro on his estate would have had no cause to envy. Many were the schemes he had imagined by which he might obtain private and accurate knowledge of all that was going on among the negroes themselves, and also among the white overseers appointed to superintend them; and the first idea suggested to him by the display of character he had witnessed in young Whitlaw was, that if he could get him sufficiently educated and attach him closely to his service by gratifying his avarice and ambition, the total dependance on his favor, in which it would be easy to keep the son of a squatter might prove a better guarantee for his fidelity, than any he had yet been able to put in action with the confidential clerks he had hitherto employed. This scheme was in some degree defeated by the improved condition of the Whitlaw family; but the idea of one day being able to convert to his own especial use and benefit the courage, activity and spirit he had remarked in the boy, was never lost sight of by the judicious planter; and he took care, during the time that young Jonathan passed at Natchez, to impress his observing mind with such a conviction of his wealth and generosity, as to generate a most ardent desire on the part of the youth to live within the sunshine of his favor. But for several years Jonathan senior saw more certain profit arising to himself in keeping his son at home than in parting with him; and it was not till he was obliged to confess that the stripling was grown into a man, that the desired arrangement took place.

At the age of eighteen and a half, Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw was a tall, handsome youth, with a quick, restless eye, which rarely met that of the person he conversed with; thin lips, but a set of very fine teeth within them; a slow and deliberate manner of speaking; and an air of so much self-possession and confidence, that he was supposed by all who saw him to be at least two years older than he really was. Great as was the desire of the youth himself to become one of Col. Dart's family, it is probable that even then his father might have made some difficulty of parting with so useful and efficient a personage, had not such an alteration taken place in his own family as rendered the absence of his son rather convenient than otherwise. Poor Portia, instead of finding her health improve by her change of residence, fell into a dropsy within a few years after their arrival at Mount Etna, which in three months put an end to her languishing existence. Her death was certainly no great loss to any one, and Mr. Jonathan Whitlaw soon conceived hopes that it would prove to him a source of gain. One of the most constant customers at his store was a Miss Belinda Tomkins, a young lady of about thirty-five years of age, who had recently by the death of her uncle become the owner of three stout male and two female negroes. This noble inheritance immediately attracted the attention of the neighborhood, and more than one owner of a settlement, who lacked sufficient hands to work it, were meditating an attack upon the heiress's heart; but the prompt measures of the widower baffled them all, and Miss Belinda avowed her readiness to become Mrs. Whitlaw the second, on condition that "the big son, that the poor woman what was gone had left behind her, should not be kept at home everlasting to trouble her." Poor Clio heard not this condition, or it might have broken her heart; but it was complied with on the part of the father, and thus was Jonathan Jefferson left at liberty to accept the noble offers made him by his patron, and to become the inmate of a mansion infinitely finer than the finest steam-boat on the river.

Colonel Dart had hitherto spoken vaguely to his young friend of the duties which it would be his special task to fulfil; and it was not till they met at breakfast on the day following young Whitlaw's admission as an inmate at Paradise Plantation, that he began to enter upon the explanation of his wishes in a manner sufficiently clear and precise to give the confidential clerk a definite idea of what they would be. The time was well chosen for insuring the willing obedience of the happy youth to any commands that could be laid on him. The display of Col. Dart's breakfast table might have bribed a spirit less pliant to follow wherever interest led, than that of Jonathan Jefferson. The early and delicious spring of that southern climate had already brought a world of bright and beautiful flowers into blossom in the spacious garden upon which the breakfast room opened. A group of luxuriant orange trees sent their fragrance through the large windows; and the flocks of green birds that ventured to hang upon the branches of the locust trees, while they pecked the insects from their bark, looked like the brightest emeralds in Aladdin's enchanted garden. The whole scene indeed was one of luxury and wealth. The breakfast table was spread with dainties, of which the most "elegant dram" made a part; and the great man, who was the envied lord of all, sat opposite young Jonathan, courteously pressing him to partake the good cheer, and treating him so completely as his equal and friend, that it is not surprising if the happy youth received every word which fell from his lips as if he had been listening to the law and the prophets. It was thus the dialogue ran:—

"You find yourself more pleasant here, Jonathan, than at the wooding station, or at the store either, I guess? I expect you would'nt over-well approve to go back again?"

"No, colonel, I calculate that would not suit me in no way. I always prefer to progress; the turning back would make me giddy, I guess."

"Then progress you shall, my fine fellow, or the fault will be your own. I think I must begin to let you a little into my confidence, Jonathan, and then we shall begin to understand one another." A glass of fine rum was here proffered and accepted. "How many niggers, Jonathan, do you calculate I may own on this plantation? taking in the sugar, rice, cotton grounds, household gang, breeders, and all?"

This question piqued the sagacity and judgment of the confidential clerk, and he pondered upon it so long that his hot-blooded patron waxed impatient. "How the devil should you know, boy? You may say that straight off, and no shame neither. I'll tell you, Jonathan. I own five hundred, sound in wind and limb; and some of them the most splendid patterns that your sharp eyes ever spied. What d'ye say to that, my lad?"

"It's grand, colonel. I'd rather own five hundred negurs than be President. Why, they must sweat into dollars uncountable."

"Pretty well for that; and my dollars may roll which way I like. But for all that, Jonathan, 'tis no joke, now-a-days, to own five hundred blacks, I can tell you, boy. While those infernal varment, the missionary hell-hounds, that the devil has taken it into his head to send on earth for the alone purpose of plaguing honest men—while they are creeping about, like so many cursed copper-heads among the canes, it's no holiday to have five hundred slaves, and know the best among 'em would eat your heart if they could catch it, and a missionary saying grace the while."

"But we've got no missionaries at Natchez, I expect?" replied the young man, looking rather anxiously for the colonel's reply.

"And who's to know that, Jonathan? You're a smart lad, and that's the reason I've got you here; but you've a thing or two to learn yet, my fine fellow, before you'll be able to tell me where there are missionaries, and where there are not. May be you calculate upon their walking about with a cassock and bands? I wish they did; I wish to God they did, boy; and I'd have my heel upon their throats slick enough. But that's not the way in these times. Those vipers who steal out to Liberia to pick a living out of the nigger beasts, always take a spell of canting among the plantations before they set off; and sometimes they come in one shape, and sometimes in another; there's no knowing when you're free from 'em.—What d'ye think of catching a horse-doctor that pretended he was going to open a store for drugs—what d'ye think, now, of catching him in the fact of praying with one of my black devils, that was dying of the small pox? True, upon my soul. I was in such an unknown rage, that I had the nigger flogged before my eyes, as long as there was life in him; but as to the white villain, I was obliged to let him go, because at that time nobody had begun to think of taking their own vengeance upon whites; but now, my boy, if we can catch 'em, the business lies in our own hands, as right it should. For where will you find any one to do justice upon the sneaking, canting, rebellious rascals, with such hearty good will as we that suffer by 'em? And there's no danger at all—at least there wont be in a very little time; for it's as clear as the sun in heaven, that we shall be supported and approved in State, Senate, and Congress, let us do what we will in self-defence."

This doctrine of "self-defence" was already familiar, in some degree, to the young man; and in common with the great majority of slaveholders, master Jonathan deemed it a most righteous and Christian-like doctrine. Accordingly he answered, with all the zeal and spirit his patron wished, and with eloquence warmed by a second bumper of rum,

"I'll tell you what it is, colonel—the man what has'nt courage to do vengeance for himself, don't deserve the protection of the law in a free country.—It's all very well for the pitiful slaves of the Old World to sit still when they're injured, till some feller in a big wig takes their part, and pretends to set all right again; but it wont serve for us. What's freedom for, if we can't do what we like with our own born slaves? There's nothing so despisable in my mind, as a man what's afraid to kick the life out of his own nigger, if he sees good. 'Tis that gives us the right to call ourselves free; and without it I don't see but we're just as bad off as the fools t'other side the water."

Though this was a much longer harangue than colonel Dart was ever in the habit of listening to, except from himself, the sentiments were in such perfect accordance with his own, that he not only permitted his confidential clerk to come to the conclusion of it without interruption, but very nearly embraced him when he had done.

"You're a glorious fellow, Jonathan," he exclaimed; "upon my soul you are. Young as you are, you know how to utter the sentiments of a free people. I shall ever consider you in the light of a friend, and not of a dependant; and if you will only"—continued the planter, lowering his voice—"if you will only look out for the enemies of the good cause, and prove your free-born principles in practice, you shall find that an American citizen knows how to be grateful. And after all, Jonathan, what can I do with my money, unless it is to reward a true friend? What family have I got to trouble myself about? Half a dozen yellow girls and their brats. They may be mine, or they may be another man's; and I'm sure I don't care a cent whether they're mine or not, provided I've the privilege of owning them; therefore, you may see, my dear boy, that there's a fine opening at Paradise Plantation for a bold young fellow that would prove himself my friend."

Young Whitlaw sucked in the honied sweetness of these vague but glorious words; and raising his eyes to those of the colonel, with a more fixed and steady glance than was usual with him, he replied: "Try me, colonel, and may be you'll find me worth something."

CHAPTER VIII.

The eight years which had produced such important changes in the Whitlaw family, had not passed without leaving their marks behind them, over the inhabitants of Reichland. Fritz, the eldest son, had persuaded his father, though not without difficulty, to permit his trying his fortune with a merchant in Philadelphia, in whose counting-house he had been placed with a considerable premium by his uncle.—For neither time, nor the reiterated assurances of Frederic Steinmark, that money was in no way required for the prosperity of himself and his family, could prevent the baron's affection and liberality from showing themselves whenever he could find or invent an excuse for making a remittance. Karl, for the last five years, had been in possession of a well-constructed and most profitable mill, situated at exactly that point of the hollow way, where the maple trees grew, which Jonathan Whitlaw had so greatly wished to enclose. Hermann was his father's right hand and his right arm too, in the management of the farm; but Henrich, the pale and meditative Henrich, though only five years old when transplanted to the soil on which he grew, had still the air of an exotic. It was not that the climate disagreed with him; for though he looked delicate, and was too tall for his age, having had the full stature of a man, when he had the muscle of only seventeen years to support it, he was not in bad health, but as his mother used to say, Henrich's imagination had never got *acclimated*.—The history, the music, the literature of his own country, were the friends from which he drew all the ideas which constituted his happiness. Henrich was the only one of the family who, in reply to the constant inquiries of the Baron Steinmark, whether he could send nothing from the old world, which might assist in making their retired abode more agreeable, had boldly answered, "Yes, books, dearest uncle, German books, and engravings of the hills and valleys of our fatherland, and songs such as our peasants sing when they are dressing their vines: send me these, dear uncle, and I will pray for you—I will pray that not ever in your dreams you may change the dearly loved landscapes of your own storied land for such dark and dreary forests as those amidst which we live."

It was thus Henrich had more than once written to the Westphalian baron; and in return he not only received the gifts he asked, but with them an earnest invitation to recross the ocean, and return to his protection and the land of his birth. The thought of his return caused a joy so vehement in the breast of the enthusiastic boy, that he dared not trust himself to express it; but, placing the letter in his father's hand, he hastened to hide himself in the woods, and only re-appeared when he thought he could listen to the paternal decision on the answer to be given to it, with a proper degree of external composure. That answer very nearly killed him, for it was negative. Frederic Steinmark could not endure to think that a child of Mary's should be exposed to the possible insolence of the baroness; and totally unconscious of the blow he was giving, he returned the letter into the hands of Henrich, as soon as he saw him, quietly saying,

"No, Henrich, Europe is no longer the home of my family; nor can I permit that one should be severed from the rest. You will find no second mother, my boy. in the Baroness Steinmark." The subject was alluded to no more, excepting in those occasional moments of unreserved intercourse with his sister, which formed the only charm of his present existence. Lotte sympathized with him, and this sympathy probably prevented the blow from being mortal.

And what had the last eight years done for Lotte? They had turned a fair-haired, bright-eyed little girl, into one of the loveliest nymphs poetry ever fabled, or that nature ever formed. Her features had all the beautiful regularity of her mother's; but her loveliness was more derived from a look that recalled the sweet and meditative countenance of her father, than from all the brightness with which youth and beauty had adorned her. There was fascination in her eye, enchantment in her smile, and when that look of thoughtfulness stole upon her face, which nature had made so remarkable in that of Steinmark, there was a charm, a holiness, an intellect in her beauty, that made her, even to the accustomed eyes of her family, appear almost too fair for earth. This being, so beyond measure lovely, so pure, so innocent, so good, so guileless—this peerless treasure of the noble forester, unknowingly attracted the attention of the young Jonathan, while strolling with her brother Henrich in one of the green glades left by the taste of her father amid their cotton grounds.

The intercourse between the houses of Mt. Etna and Reichland had nearly ceased since the second marriage of Whitlaw. The bride found nothing to attract her in the manners of her German neighbors; they owned no slaves and wore no finery: while on the other hand, every member of the Steinmark family thought the time better employed in attending to the various duties allotted to each, than in listening to Mrs. Whitlaw's expressions of pity at the sufferings they must endure in consequence of not "owning any niggers."

The good Clio, however, still continued to walk over to the farm, whenever she could be spared from the store, just to see how they all went on; and the kindly welcome she received from Mary and her beautiful daughter whenever she appeared, made these stolen visits become one of her best consolations in the absence of her still idolized nephew, and the presence of her indolent and very insolent sister-in-law.

If Jonathan Jefferson felt contempt for the Steinmark family before he became an inmate of Paradise Plantation, it will be readily believed that this contempt was multiplied a thousand fold afterward. He was in truth become a very great man, not only in his own estimation, but in that of all the slaves, and a great many of the young ladies of Natchez; and whenever it happened that he encountered either of the young Germans, during his occasional visits to Mt. Etna, he invariably looked at them and their rustic dresses with the most minute attention, but without betraying the least consciousness that he had ever seen them before.

It was about six months after his promotion to the honorable situation of Col. Dart's confidential clerk, that he obtained, without being seen himself, an undisturbed stare at Lotte Steinmark. Young Jonathan was far from insensible to the influence of female beauty; and though not particularly well qualified to appreciate what was most lovely even in the personal attractions of this charming girl, he nevertheless speedily came to the conclusion that she was by far the most beautiful creature he had ever seen. He suffered the brother and sister to pass on, however, without emerging from his hiding-place, and then turned and walked slowly toward Mt. Etna, pondering upon the possibility of presenting himself on the footing of a friendly visiter at a house which he had not entered for the last seven years, and before people to whom he had at every possible opportunity shown all the impertinence in his power. It is no trifling proof of the boldness and hardihood of the youth's character, that he decided, while these disqualifying recollections crowded upon him, not to return to Paradise Plantation till he had renewed his acquaintance with the Steinmark lads, and opened the way to an intercourse with their beautiful sister. He was willing, however, to remove some of the difficulties of the enterprize, if possible; and accordingly, on entering the enlarged and beautiful mansion of his father, which was now never without the dignity of sundry half-naked negro children round the door, he despatched a sable messenger into the house with orders to bring aunt Clio to him. Joyfully as ever, she came at his bidding.

"You wants me, my darling?" said she, wiping the hands that had been cutting cheese and bacon, on her apron, "you wants me, Jonathan dear? What can I do for thee?"

"Why, that's more than I can say, Aunt Cli," returned the enamored youth; "but something must be done, or I shall be crazy. Do you know Lotte Steinmark since she has grown a woman?"

"Do I know her, Jonathan? Why is'nt she the dearest little soul, next yourself, in the Union?"

"Indeed! that's jam then. Aunt Cli, I'm in love with her; what d'ye say to that? I'm mad for love of her, and you must bring us together, if you die the minute after."

"My!" exclaimed Clio, with a grin of the greatest delight. "If that bean't the best bit of news I've heard this many a day. Well, now, Jonathan darling, I'd rather go to your wedding with Lotte Steinmark for your bride, than to see you married to the heiress of fifty niggers."

The young lover whistled yankee doodle. "I had indeed, Jonathan; I'm right down sure she'd be clever to me."

"Make yourself decent, Aunt Cli," said the young man, without answering her remark, "and walk over with me to the house; move quick, d'ye hear! and say nothing to nobody."

Though a multitude of affairs must be given up the while, Clio could not refuse to comply with a request so every way agreeable, and in a few minutes she was trotting at a brisk pace after Jonathan as he strode away towards Reichland. Ere they had gone many steps, however, the youth turned suddenly round to her, saying, "Where do the old folks keep? I've no call to see them, you know. If I bide in the orchard a spell, can't you go in, and bring the girl out to me, to take a walk for a bit, or something of that sort?"

Clio looked up wistfully in his face, and seemed loath to utter a word that should check him; but yet, somehow, she did not in her heart think she could bring out Lotte to walk with Jonathan in the orchard. "Well, now, Jonathan dear, I expect they might think that funny-like; might'nt they? She's a shy young thing, that pretty Lotte; and maybe now you've growed such an unaccountable noble-looking man of a boy, she migh'nt think it first-rate decent to run after you into the orchard, Jonathan."

"That's all flum, Aunt Cli. People like them, that can't even keep a nigger to help 'em, had better not be after giving themselves airs, I can tell 'em. However, I expect you know the whole kit of them best. Which way had we better get at her?"

"Well, now, darling, I don't think we can do anything more likely than jest to walk in like, as I do by myself; and say, How d'ye get along? or summet of that sort, or else jest be after asking them to give or to loan you a thing or two, and then they'll be sure to be joyous to see us."

"I ask them to give or to loan *me* anything! Now do jest look at them, and look at me, Aunt Cli, and then say what they've got to loan *me*. That's all fudge, and jest shows their poverty pride. I should like to let them see my home at Paradise Plantation, with five hundred niggers that all look fit to drop, if I do but turn my eye upon 'em. They loan *me*!"

"Well, now, Jonathan, say no more about the loaning; but jest walk straight in, and see how it will be."

They had by this time nearly reached the richly-scented portico that ran round the house, and into which the general sitting-room opened. All further discussion concerning the manner of their entrance was rendered unnecessary, for Lotte herself was standing before the open window, assisting Henrich to fasten the branches of a clematis, heavy with blossoms, upon the rustic trellis-work that surrounded the portico. The impudence of Jonathan very nearly failed him, and he felt a pretty considerable strong inclination to run away; but the honest confidence of the simple minded Clio came to his aid, and he manfully stood his ground beside her, as she walked up to the beautiful Lotte, who welcomed her most kindly. Neither the brother nor sister, however, had the slightest idea who the tall stripling might be, who, dressed in the height of New Orleans elegance, stood bowing with a strange mixture of bashfulness and audacity before her. It was some minutes before it entered Clio's head that it was possible Lotte and Henrich should not know her nephew Jonathan; but as soon as the fact became manifest to her capacity, she performed the ceremony of introduction by saying, "Well, now, I do believe you have downright forgotten Jonathan, both of you—and no wonder, seeing he's growed so dreadful handsome, and so tall and grandlike; but 'tis Jonathan, Lotte. Won't you shake hands with him?" "Father and mother will be glad to see you, Clio," replied Lotte, coloring slightly, and making a movement towards the open window; "I think they are both here."

This palpable evasion of the offered courtesy of hand-shaking, seconded as is was by a brisk action of the youth's right hand the instant his aunt's agreeable proposal reached his ears, produced an effect both on his nerves and temper by no means favorable to the grace of his entry by the open window. He "had to do it," however; and following his aunt, and the beautiful object of his admiration and anger, he suddenly found himself in the presence also of Frederic Steinmark, Mary, Karl, and Hermann. The day was Sunday, and the whole family had the air of enjoying the pleasant idleness, and unbroken intercourse with each other, which is permitted. Frederic, indeed, was reading; but the two sons were seated one on each side of the mother, and both seemed enjoying the pleasure of a very lively conversation, in which she was taking part with as much animated as either of them.

"Here is Clio, mother, come to see us," said Lotte, as she entered.

"And here is our Jonathan," said Clio, stopping short in her advance toward Mary, till the young man had reached her side. "Ar'nt he growed, mistress?"

"Very much grown, Clio," answered Mary kindly; and turning to Jonathan, she asked him to sit down, with a civility which quite surprised him.—He gave her credit, however, for conquering feelings and resentments respecting him, which in truth it had never entered into her heart to conceive.—She had heard there was a young Whitlaw, and that young Whitlaw was gone to school, but, further than this, her memory retained no single idea concerning him. And even this was probably more than Frederic Steinmark knew, or remembered about him. He raised his eyes from his book, however, and with his own sweet smile nodded a welcome to the worthy Clio.

"My nephew, master Steinmark, sir!" said Clio, pushing Jonathan a little toward him. Frederic again raised his eyes, but it was evident that he was puzzled concerning the identity of the smart youth who stood before him, and with that guilty consciousness of inattention which absent people often betray, he looked toward his wife and sons to assist him out of his embarrassment, or, if that were impossible, at least to relieve him from doing the honors of his house to a guest of whose existence he could not recal the slightest recollection. Confident, however, from old experience, of receiving the aid his expressive look demanded, he resumed his occupation, and, impossible as the thing appeared to Jonathan Jefferson, totally forgot that he was in the room. Not so, Karl, Hermann, or Henrich. The occasional impertinences of their sister to themselves were certainly not wholly forgotten; but his presence recalled ideas infinitely more disagreeable, and more disadvantageous to him, than any remembrances connected merely with themselves.—Though the young Steinmarks associated as little as well possible with the inhabitants of Natchez, the necessary sale of their produce, and the purchase of articles required in return, made it impossible that they should be altogether strangers there. Karl, too, in his vocation of miller, often found himself under the necessity of hearing more plantation gossip than was either interesting or agreeable; and both from his customers, and from the general report of Natchez, such a series of anecdotes had reached the brothers, as proved that, either justly or unjustly, the young hero of my tale had already acquired as general a character for dissolute libertinism as it would have required at least twice his age to collect round any one name amidst the more slowly developed vices of Europe. Nor was this all. The charge of cruelty to the unhappy negroes, into whose secret thoughts he was commissioned to penetrate, and whose slightest failings it was his hired service to betray, was spoken of with loathing and abhorrence even at Natchez. The hearts of the young Germans seemed to burn within them as Jonathan prepared to seat himself in the circle that pressed round their mother; and when, drawing his chair near to that of Lotte, he began smilingly and familiarly to address her, no consideration of civility, nor even the accustomed deference to the presence of his parents, could control the feelings of the impetuous Karl, who, approaching his sister abruptly, said in a half whisper, "Leave the room, Lottchen!" and then, having stood between her and the object of his indignation till the door closed behind her, he replaced himself close beside his mother, turning his clear and almost fierce blue eyes upon the guest, with a look from which even the accomplished effrontery of Jonathan Jefferson turned abashed. This scene, which was becoming extremely unpleasant to every person present, excepting the absorbed Frederic Steinmark and the unsuspicious Clio, could not last long. The object which had induced young Whitlaw to such an act of condescension as paying a voluntary visit to the "German boors," as he not very aptly termed the family of Steinmark, having so strangely withdrawn herself, all wish on his part to prolong the visit vanished; and rising from his chair, with his hat still on his head, and his arms folded on his breast, he stood waiting with no very amiable feelings, till his aunt should give some indication that if he bolted through the window, she would follow him. Clio, however, who perceived not that anything was amiss, save indeed the absence of Lotte, whom she every moment expected to see re-enter, was in no hurry to depart. She hailed this opportunity of exhibiting the beauty and splendor of her nephew to her friendly neighbors; and it was not till the swelling and mortified Jonathan had given her sundry admonitory pokes on the elbow, and finally uttered very audibly, "You are going to bide all day, I expect," that the kind-hearted soul conceived the possibility that it would be best to depart, even before one bit of courting had taken place with Lotte. This visit appeared over long to more than one of the persons it brought together; but it would have been well for all, had the effects of it lasted no longer.

NATIONAL EXCHANGES.

Most of our readers have probably heard something of M. Alexandre Vattemare, who has recently visited this country, for the purpose of promoting exchanges in works of Science, Literature, and Art, throughout the nations of the earth. It is a new and charming proof of the tendency to universal brotherhood—another link in the golden chain of love, destined to encircle all the globe.

M. Vattemare made a farewell address to a large audience assembled in Clinton Hall, N. Y.

We make the following extracts from the report of it in the New-York Tribune.

"M. Vattemare, in introducing his plan, gave, somewhat in detail, an account of the origin, character and progress of his scheme of international exchanges. Partly owning to a natural bias, he said, and partly to the nature of his early education, he had always a fondness for the relics and doings of the past. This led him, in connection with his profession, to visit all the capitals of Europe, and to explore their libraries, collections, museums, and treasure-houses of ancient lore. He thus soon became familiar with all the wonders they contained. In the progress of these researches he discovered many priceless antiquarian relics, the very existence of which was unsuspected by their proprietors. He often met, in the libraries of one city, duplicates of books which in another, perhaps not far off, were indispensable to complete a collection. At other times he found stray volumes of the same original book scattered over different kingdoms, and occasionally works of the utmost importance to the historical collections of one country preserved in another where they were not of the slightest value or interest.

He specified many instances in which this had occurred. In the Town Library of Aix, in France, he found MSS. concerning the cities of Lyons, Paris, Metz, Strasburg and Geneva—not of the least value where they were, but of immense worth to the people of those cities. In the Arsenal Library of Paris he found the first four volumes of the celebrated romance of 'The Four Sons of Aymon,' a work written in the fifteenth century, and supposed never to have been completed; yet in the Library of Munich he found the fifth and last volume of this long-sought work. The first volume of a MS. History of the Dukes of Burgundy, written in 1400, has been for years in the Town Library of Lisle, (Flanders,) and the second was universally supposed to be lost; and yet he found this second volume in Lapland. Thus, wherever he journeyed, he found documents and manuscripts entirely out of place—the dislocated members of many a distant body—valueless in their present state, but of priceless worth when brought together. Multitudes of priceless historical and scientific documents may yet be found in the libraries of Mt. Athos of Pathnos, of Jerusalem and Constantinople, where still are located the wrecks of the great Alexandrian Library.

The collections of printed books he found no less rich and abundant in useless duplicates. Of the Libraries in Northern Europe which he had visited, he mentioned particularly that, in the Library of the University of Jena, in Gemany, he found no less than 13,000 duplicates; in that of Wolfenbuttel, (Duchy of Brunswick,) 15,000; in the Royal Library of Berlin, 25,000; in the Imperial Library of Vienna, 60,000. The Royal Library of Munich, in Bavaria, contained no less than 200,000 duplicates, which were huddled together in garrets, as so much useless lumber, although of a character to render them valuable in other countries.

M. Vattemare within the last few years has received many letters of congratulation from various European Sovereigns, Emperors, Kings, Cardinals, Archbishops, and the Clergy of all denominations, alike from absolute and republican governments, all manifesting their solicitude for his success, and their exalted approbation of his scheme. Ministers and the great men of Turkey, Greece and Persia—nations which have so long breathed the atmosphere of blighted hope as to be thought quite extinguished and utterly incapable of regeneration, have come forward and pledged their assistance in carrying out his plans. In both England and France his memorials have been received with the warmest demonstrations of enthusiasm. Within the last four years, he said, more than 500,000 exchanges have taken place, thousands of volumes have been withdrawn from darkness and the dust, and countless libraries enriched by these exchanges; while nobody has been taxed, nobody impoverished, missing volumes have been supplied, mutilated series made perfect, and countless volumes whose loss had been deplored have been brought to light. New and hitherto unsuspected sources of historical truth have been discovered among the manuscripts everywhere disintered, and multitudes of new libraries have been formed.

Having permanently established his system in the Old World, and, encouraged by Lafayette, Gen. Cass and others, he came to this country hoping to find among the sturdy, stout-hearted Republicans of America a resolute and healthy self-respect, vast public libraries, splended museums, and institutions of all kinds, which should far outstrip even the most munificent establishments of the Old World.

Judge of my disappointment, said he, when I found on my arrival, with all these visions of glory in my heated brain that most of your public institutions, were in sober truth private; that pursuing that once illiberal system of your mother, old England—you had preserved in these institutions, what I could find no where else among you—a truly privileged class, who valued not, because they understood not, their own privileges—a permanent *aristocracy*. And this in the very constitution of establishments so essentially democratic every where else on earth—an aristocracy wasting by slow decay! Many of your scientific institution languishing for sympathy and encouragement, and others, long founded, falling into ruins without notice. Public, or town libraries, bolted and barred from the public—and the owners caring but little for their preservation, and this in a country so young as this great sisterhood of Republics!

Yet more, I found the majority of your museums degraded to *raree shows*; places where the people betake themselves but for idle pastime, and that not always of a creditable kind; places where the accumulated wonders are heaped together by cart loads without any pretensions to scientific arrangement; where objects of real interest to the antiquarian or naturalist, are completely buried, or at least over-shadowed, by the merest rubbish—gems in the scavenger's cart,—here a variety of monstrous wax figures, and there a rope dancer, a learned pig, or a conjurer, calling crowds of people together, as to a puppet show, in a place, which in other countries, you find consecrated to silence and meditation.

How often have I found rare and precious specimens from the animal or mineral kingdom so completely disfigured or embellished as to puzzle a naturalist; and how could it be otherwise, and how can you ever hope for any thing better, so long as these institutions are in the hands of men who regard them as contrivances for making money? and so long as the word *admittance* is found to be synonymous with *twenty-five cents!* No wonder the poor boy gave the latter for a definition of the former.

Very many of our institutions are founded in a paroxysm of generous enthusiasm, only to perish afterwards for lack of bread and water. A public meeting and an eloquent speech or two—a generous collection,—up goes a magnificent building—out of all proportion to our wants for a quarter of a century, perhaps—at the end of which time, it falls to pieces of itself, or is knocked to pieces by the auctioneer's hammer! Splendid meteors that but dazzle to betray. Why spend all the money collected upon the mere foundations of a building? Why spend so much upon your cage, that you cannot afford to buy a bird? So much upon your purse that you have nothing left to put in it? So much upon your cottage that you cannot afford to get married?

Our Library system, too, is evidently not much better. Our 'public libraries,' to which the public are never admitted, are all founded upon the most unrelenting and dangerous of all distinctions—that of money. This should not be thus; all honest, well-behaved, though poor young men, who are gifted by their Heavenly Father with glorious instincts of genius and virtue should be freely admitted to institutions of an enlarged and permanent character. Every kind of talent would then be sure to find its appropriate stimulus.

Let me beseech you, therefore, said M. Vattemare, for the sake of our children, and your children's children, and therefore of your country, to co-operate together, earnestly and steadily, dilligently and faithfully, for the establishment of institutions, whose existence will be guaranteed by the State, or by the corporation of your cities; institutions, which will gather together, under the same roof, libraries, museums of natural history, collections of objects of art and of industry, an academy of drawing and painting, large lecture rooms, in which public and *free* lectures may be given—and the whole forming but one institution, in which all your scientific and literary bodies, have with the people at large, a common interest.

He presented briefly, but clearly, the obvious and permanent advantages which would result from a scheme of so enlarged and enlightened philanthropy as the one which he had proposed. The light of no man's lamp was ever yet diminished by allowing another to kindle his by it. As soon as such a museum should be once established, contributions from all quarters would flow in, of books, pictures, engravings, minerals, shells, coin, &c. &c.,—worth little to their possessors, but of inestimable value in such a collection. Its influence would soon be felt; our students would be furnished with an easy access to science and learning, the cabinets of Europe might be enriched with specimens of the gigantic nature of our new world, the legislative documents of our General and State Governments, and we should receive in return the works of high art, which abound abroad. There is no museum in Europe that would not gladly purchase even one of our skeletons of the Western Mammoth by thousands of duplicate volumes. Models of our new and numerous inventions in art and manufactures would be highly prized abroad. Fishes, shells, and even the *reptiles*, of the new world, are wanted in the old world; and the State of Louisiana, or Missouri, might get for her Alligators a cast of the Apollo Belvidere, and for their Rattle Snakes the manuscript works of a Milton, a Bossuet or a Fenelon.

M. Vattemare concluded his most excellent address by referring to the encouragement he had received in his proposed plans from the eminent men of the United States, and by suggesting some of the special provisions which would be required in the establishment of such a Public Institution. A love for the Arts is the distinguishing characteristic of a highly civilized nation; and this love can be encouraged but by one process. Full play must be allowed to genius, opportunities must be afforded to all, and all must be stimulated by hope and a free atmosphere to a full developement of their power. The collections belonging to Societies already existing should therefore be placed under the care of one principal Superintendent, well fitted, in every respect, for the place. Suitable buildings should be erected for the purpose, and placed under the good faith of the City Corporation or the Legislature, who should provide for their repairs and for the maintenance of the officers. Thus the Institution would become the property of all, to the advantage of all and injurious to none. Once begun, it would grow of itself, increasing yearly in usefulness and attraction."

"A good man will be willing to dig his small allotment in the great field of usefulness, to contribute his little item to the cause of truth and righteousness, and to look for the sum total, as the product of innumerable contributions, each of them as meritorious, and many of them, perhaps far more important and splendid than his own."

"No man," says Flavel, "hath a velvet cross.—The cross is made of what God will have it; yet I dare not say, O that I had liberty to sell Christ's cross! lest that I should also sell with it, comfort, sense of love, patience, and the kind visits of the Redeemer.

The *commandments* may have as faithful martyrs as the *creed*.

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